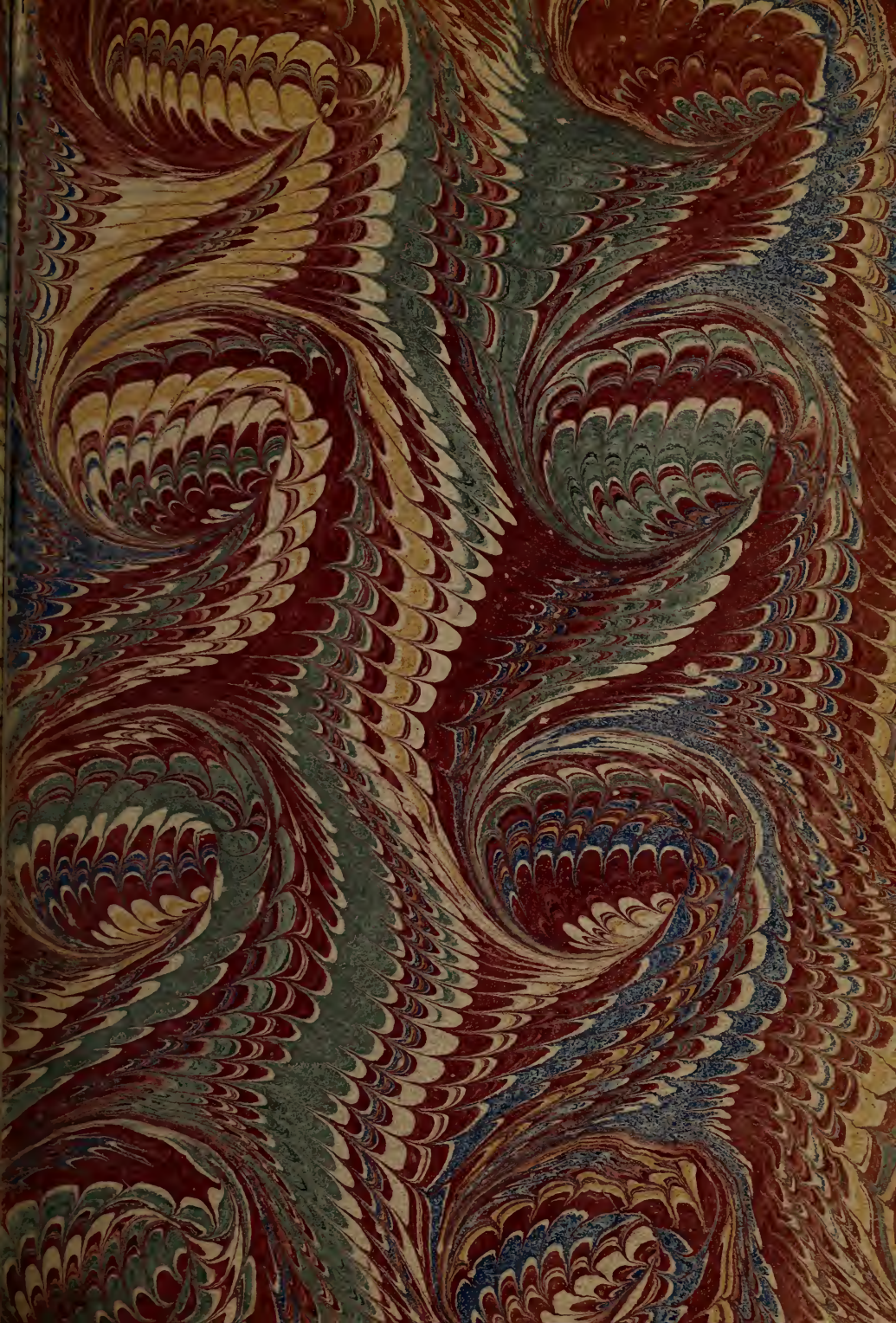


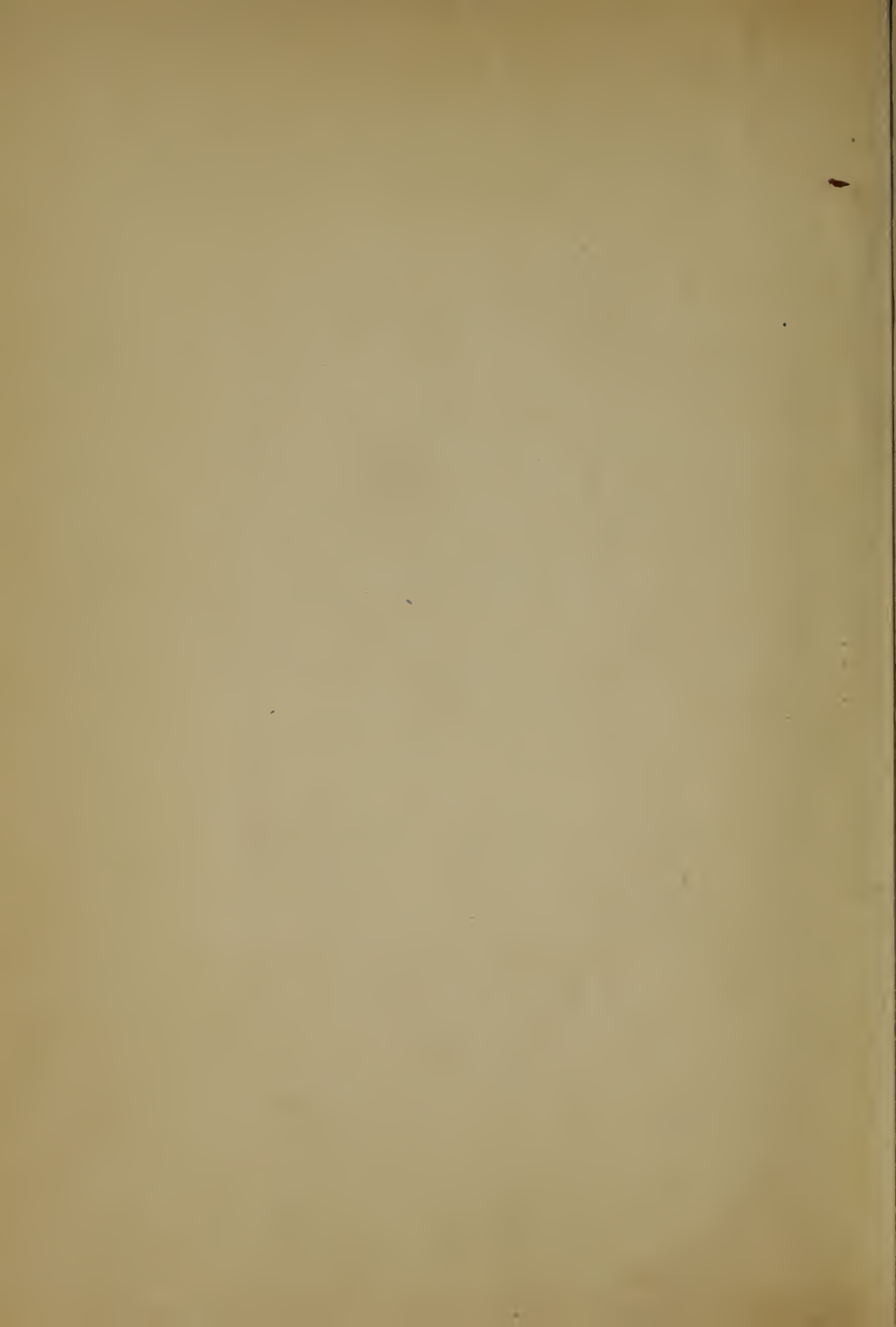


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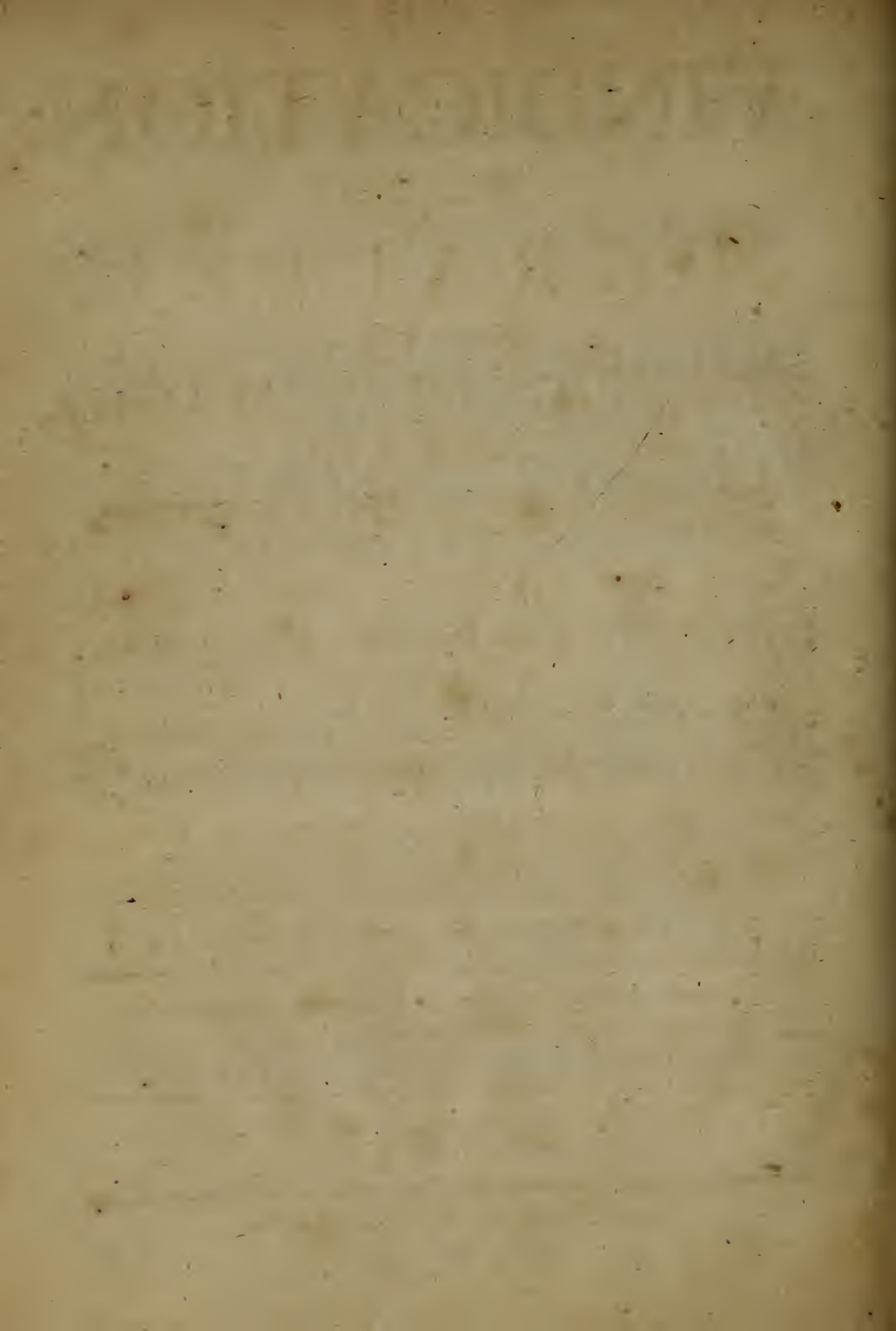
William Holgate.





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2

THE
VINDICATION:
OR THE
PARALLEL
OF THE
FRENCH HOLY-LEAGUE,
AND THE

English League and Covenant,

Turn'd into a Seditious Libell against the
KING and his ROYAL HIGHNESS,

BY

Thomas Hunt and the Authors of the *Reflections* upon
the Pretended Parallel in the Play called

The DUKE of G U I S E.

Written by Mr. D R I D E N.

*Turno tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum
Intactum Pallanta: & cum spolia ista, diemq;
Oderit.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for Jacob Tonson at the Judges Head in Chancery-Lane,
near Fleetstreet, MDCLXXXIII.

nement, it ought to be *wholly of a piece*. This do I take for a sufficient Justification of that Scene, unless they will make the *pretended Parallel* to be a *Prophecy*, as well as a *Parallel of Accidents*, that were *twenty years after to come*. Neither do I find that they can suggest the least colour for't in any other part of the Tragedy.

But now comes the main Objection, *Why was it stop't then?* To which I shall render this just Account, with all due Respects to those who were the Occasion of it.

Upon a wandering Rumour (which I will divide betwixt *Malice* and *Mistake*) that some Great Persons were represented or personated in it, the Matter was complain'd of to my Lord Chamberlain; who, thereupon, appointed the Play to be brought to him, and prohibited the Acting of it till further Order; commanding me, after this, to wait upon his Lordship; which I did, and humbly desir'd him to compare the *Play* with the *History*, from whence the Subject was taken, referring to the *First Scene* of the *Fourth Act*, whereupon the *Exception* was grounded, and leaving *Davila* (the *Original*) with his Lordship. This was before *Midsummer*; and about two Months after, I receiv'd the Play back again from his Lordship, but without any positive Order whether it should be Acted or *not*; neither was Mr. Lee or *my self* any way solicitous about it: But this indeed I ever said, That it was intended for the *King's Service*; and *his Majesty* was the best Judge, whether it answer'd that End or no; and that I reckon'd it my duty to submit, if his Majesty, for any Reason whatsoever, should deem it unfit for the Stage. In the *interim*, a strict Scrutiny was made, and *no Parallel* of the Great Person design'd, could be made out. But this Push failing, there were immediately started some terrible Insinuations, that the *Person* of his Majesty was represented under that of *Henry the Third*; which if they could have found out, would have concluded, perchance, not only in the *stopping* of the Play, but

in the *hanging up* of the *Poets*. But so it was, that his Majesty's *Wisdom* and *Justice*, acquitted both the *One*, and the *Other*; and when the *Play it self* was almost *forgotten*, there were Orders given for the *Acting* of it.

This is Matter of *Fact*; and I have the Honour of so Great Witnesses to the truth of what I have deliver'd, that it will need no other Appeal. As to the Exposing of any Person living, our innocency is so clear, that it is almost unnecessary to say, *It was not in my Thought*; and as far as any one Man can vouch for another, I do believe it was as little in Mr. *Lee's*. And now since some People have been so busie as to cast out false and scandalous Surmises, how far we two agreed upon the Writing of it, I must do a common Right both to Mr. *Lee* and *my self*, to declare publickly that it was at his earnest Desire, without any Solicitation of mine, that this Play was produced betwixt us. After the writing of *Oedipus*, I pass'd a Promise to joyn with him in another; and he happen'd to claim the performance of that Promise, just upon the finishing of a Poem, when I would have been glad of a little respite before the undertaking of a second Task. The Person that pass'd betwixt us, knows this to be true; and Mr. *Lee* himself, I am sure, will not disown it: So that I did not [*seduce him to joyn with me*] as the malicious Authors of the *Reflections* are pleas'd to call it; but Mr. *Lee's Loyalty* is above so ridiculous a Slander. I know very well, that the Town did ignorantly call and take this to be *my Play*; but I shall not arrogate to my self the Merits of my Friend. *Two thirds* of it belong'd to *him*; and then to *me* only the *First Scene* of the Play; the whole *Fourth Act*, and the *first half*, or somewhat more of the *Fifth*.

The Pamphleteers, I know, do very boldly insinuate, that *before the Acting of it*, I took the whole Play to my self, but finding afterwards how ill success it had upon the Stage, I threw as much of it as possibly I could upon my Fellow.

Now here are *three damn'd Lyes* crowded together into a very little room: First, That I *assum'd* any part of it to my *self*, which I had not *written*; wherein I appeal, not only to my particular *Acquaintance*, but to the whole Company of *Actors*, who will witness for me, that in all the *Rehearsals*, I never pretended to any *one Scene* of Mr. *Lee's*, but did him all imaginable Right, in his title to the *greater part* of it. I hope, I may, without *Vanity*, affirm to the World, that I never stood in need of borrowing another mans Reputation; and I have been as little guilty of the *Injustice*, of laying claim to any thing which was not my own. Nay, I durst almost refer my self to some of the angry Poets on the other side, whether I have not rather *countenanc'd* and *assisted their Beginnings*, than *hinder'd* them from *Rising*. The two other Falsities are, the *ill success of the Play*, and my *disowning it*. The former is manifestly without *Foundation*; for it *succeeded* beyond my very *hopes*, having been frequently Acted, and never without a considerable Audience: And then 'tis a thousand to one, that having *no ground*, to *disown* it, I did not *disown* it; but the *Universe* to a *Nut-shell* that I did not *disown* it for want of *success*, when it *succeeded* so much beyond my *Expectation*. But my malignant Adversaries are the more excusable, for this course method of breaking in upon *Truth* and *good Manners*, because it is the only way they have to gratifie the *Genius* and the *Interest* of the *Faction together*; and never so much pains taken neither, to so very, very little purpose. They *decry* the *Play*, but in such a manner, that it has the Effect of a *Recommendation*. They call it a *dull Entertainment*; and that's a dangerous word, I must confess, from one of the *greatest Masters* in *humane Nature*, of *that Faculty*. Now I can forgive them this Reproach too, after all the rest: For this Play does openly discover the Original and Root of the Practices and Principles, both of their Party and Cause; and they are so well acquainted with

with all the Trains and Mazes of Rebellion, that there's nothing new to them in the whole History. Or what if it were a little inspid, there was no Conjuring that I remember in *Pope Joan* : And the *Lancashire Witches* were without doubt, the most *insipid* Jades that ever flew upon a Stage ; and yet even *These* by the favour of a *Party* made a shift to hold up their heads. Now if we have out-done these Plays in their own *dull way*, their Authors have some sort of *priviledge* to throw the *first stone* : But we shall rather choose to *yield* the Point of *Dulness*, than *contend* for it, against so indisputable a Claim.

But *Matters of State* (it seems) are *canvassed* on the Stage, and things of the *Gravest Concernment* there managed : And who were the *Aggressors*, I beseech you but a few *factious*, popular *Hirelings*, that by tampering the *Theatres*, and by *poysoning* the *People*, made a *Play-house* more *Seditious* than a *Conventicle* : So that the *Loyal Party* crave only the same freedom of *defending* the *Government*, which the other took before-hand of *exposing* and *defaming* it. There was no complaint of any *Disorders* of the Stage in the *Busle*, that was made (even to the *forming* of a *Party*) to uphold a *Farce* of *Theirs*. Upon the *First day*, the whole *Faction* (in a manner) appeared ; but after *One sight* of it, they sent their *Proxies* of *Serving-men* and *Porters* to *Clap* in the *Right* of their *Patrons* : And it was impossible ever to have gotten off the *Nonsense* of *three hours* for *Half a Crown*, but for the *Providence* of so *Congruous* an *Audience*. Thus far, I presume, the *Reckoning* is even, for *Bad Plays*, on *Both Sides* ; and for *Plays* written for a *Party*. I shall say nothing of *their Poets Affection* to the *Government*, unless upon an *absolute* and an *odious necessity*. But to return to the *Pre-tended Parallel*.

I have said enough already to convince any man of common sense, That there neither *was*, nor could be any

Parallel

Parallel intended : And it will farther appear, from the nature of the Subject ; there being no Relation betwixt Henry the Third and the Duke of Guise, except that of the Kings marrying into the Family of Lorrain. If a Comparison had been design'd, how easie had it been either to have found a Story, or to have invented one, where the ties of nature had been nearer ? If we consider their Actions or their Persons, a much less proportion will be yet found betwixt them : and if we bate the Popularity, perhaps none at all. If we consider them in reference to their Parties ; the One was manifestly the Leader, the Other, at the worst, is but misled. The Designs of the One tended openly to Usurpation : those of the Other may yet be interpreted more fairly ; and I hope from the natural candour and probity of his temper, that it will come to a perfect submission and reconciliation at last. But that which perfectly destroys this pretended Parallel, is that our Picture of the Duke of Guise is exactly according to the Original in the History ; his Actions, his Manners ; nay, sometimes his very Words, are so justly copied, that whoever has read him in Davila, sees him the same here. There is no going out of the way, no dash of a Pen to make any By-feature resemble him to any other Man : and indeed, excepting his Ambition, there was not in France, or perhaps in any other Country, any man of his Age vain enough to hope he cou'd be mistaken for him. So that if we Wou'd have made a Parallel, we Cou'd not. And yet I fancy, that where I make it my business to draw Likeness, It will be no hard matter to judg who sate for the Picture. For the Duke of Guises return to Paris contrary to the Kings Order, enough already has been said ; Twas too considerable in the Story to be omitted, because it occasion'd the mischiefs that ensued : But in this likeness which was only Casual, no danger follow'd. I am confident there was none intended ; and am satisfied that none was fear'd. But the Argument
drawn

drawn from our evident design is yet, if possible, more convincing. The first words of the *Prologue* spake the *Play* to be a *Parallel*, and then you are immediately inform'd how far that *Parallel* extended, and of what it is so. *The Holy League begot the Covenant, Guisards got the Whig, &c.* So then it is not, (as the snarling Authors of the *Reflections* tell you) a *Parallel* of the *Men*, but of the *Times*. A *Parallel* of the *Factions*, and of the *Leaguers*. And every one knows that this *Prologue* was written before the stopping of the *Play*. Neither was the name alter'd on any such account as they insinuate, but laid aside long before, because a Book call'd the *Parallel* had been printed, resembling the *French League*, to the *English Covenant*; and therefore we thought it not convenient to make use of another mans Title. The chief person in the *Tragedy*, or He whose *disasters* are the *Subject* of it, may in reason give the Name; and so it was call'd the *Duke of Guise*. Our intention therefore was to make the *Play* a *Parallel*, betwixt the *Holy League* plotted by the House of *Guise* and its *Adherents*, with the *Covenant* plotted by the *Rebels* in the time of King *Charles the First*, and those of the *new Association*, which was the Spawn of the *old Covenant*.

But *This Parallel* is plain, that the *Exclusion* of the *Lawful Heir* was the main design of *Both Parties*: and that the endeavours to get the *Lieutenancy* of *France* established on the *Head* of the *League*, is in effect the same with offering to get the *Militia* out of the *Kings hands* (as declar'd by *Parliament*) and consequently that the power of *Peace* and *War* should be wholly in the *People*. 'Tis also true that the *Tumults* in the *City*, in the choice of their *Officers* have had no small resemblance with a *Parisian Rabble*. And I am afraid that both *Their Faction* and *Ours* had the *same Good Lord*. I believe also that if *Julian* had been written and calculated for the *Parisians*, as it was for our *Señaries*, one of their *Sheriffs* might have
mistaken

mistaken too, and call'd him *Julian* the *Apostle*. I suppose I need not push this Point any further, where the *Parallel* was intended, I am certain it will reach : But a larger account of the Proceedings in the City may be expected from a better hand, and I have no reason to forestall it. In the mean time, because there has been no *Actual Rebellion*, the Faction triumph in their *Loyalty*; which if it were out of *Principle*, all our divisions would soon be ended, and we the happy People, which God and the Constitution of our Government have put us in condition to be : but so long as they take it for a *Maxim*, that the *King* is but an *Officer in Trust*, that the *People*, or their *Representatives* are *superiour* to him, Judges of *Miscarriages*, and have power of *Revocation*, 'tis a plain case, that when ever they please they may take up arms ; and, according to *Their Doctrine*, *lawfully* too. Let them joyn'tly renounce this one opinion, as in Conscience and Law they are bound to do, because both Scripture and Acts of Parliament oblige them to it, and we will then thank their *Obedience* for our quiet, whereas now we are only beholding to them for their *Fear*. The miseries of the last War are yet too fresh in all mens memory : and they are *not* Rebels only because they have been so *too lately*. An Author of theirs has told us roundly the *West-Country Proverb* ; *Chad eat more Cheese and chad it* : Their Stomach is as good as ever it was ; but the mischief on't is, they are either *Muzzled* or want their *Teeth*. If there were as many *Fanatiques* now in *England*, as there were *Christians* in the *Empire*, when *Julian* reign'd, I doubt we should not find them much inclin'd to *passive obedience* ; and *Curse ye Meroz* wou'd be oftner preach'd upon, than *Give to Cæsar*, except in the sense *Mr. Hunt* means it.

Having clearly shown wherein the *Parallel* consisted, which no man can mistake, who does not wilfully ; I need not justifie my self, in what concerns the sacred Person of his Majesty. Neither the *French History*, nor our own
could

could have supplied me, nor *Plutarch* himself, were he now alive, could have found a *Greek* or *Roman* to have compared to him, in that eminent vertue of his *Clemency*; even his enemies must acknowledge it to be *Superlative*, because they live by it. Far be it from flattery, if I say, that there is nothing under Heaven, which can furnish me with a *Parallel*; and that in his *Mercy*, he is of all men the *Truest Image* of his *Maker*.

Henry the Third was a Prince of a *mix'd Character*; he had, as an old *Historian* says of another, *Magnas virtutes, nec minora vitia*: but amongst those vertues, I do not find his *forgiving qualities* to be much celebrated. That he was deeply engag'd in the bloody *Massacre* of *St. Bartholomew*, is notoriously known: and if the relation printed in the *Memoires of Villeroy* be true, he confesses there that the *Admiral* having brought him and the Queen Mother into suspicion with his Brother then reigning, for endeavouring to lessen his Authority, and draw it to themselves, he first design'd his Accusers death by *Maurevel*, who shot him with a *Carabine*, but fail'd to kill him; after which, he push'd on the *King* to that *dreadful Revenge*, which immediately succeeded. 'Tis true, the Provocations were high, there had been reiterated Rebellions, but a Peace was now concluded; it was solemnly *Sworn* to by *both Parties*, and as great an assurance of *Safety*, given to the *Protestants*, as the *Word of a King and Publick Instruments* could make it. Therefore the Punishment was execrable, and it pleas'd God, (if we may dare to judge of his secret Providence) to cut off that King in the very flower of his Youth, to blast his Successor in his Undertakings, to raise against him the Duke of *Guise*, the Complotter and Executioner of that inhumane Action (who by the Divine Justice, fell afterwards into the same snare which he had laid for others) and finally, to dye a violent Death himself; murder'd by a *Priest*, an *Enthusiast* of his

own Religion. From these Premisses, let it be concluded, if reasonably it can, that we could draw a *Parallel*, where the lines were so diametrically opposite. We were indeed obliged by the *Laws of Poetry*, to cast into *Shadows* the *vices* of this *Prince*; for an Excellent Critique has lately told us, that *when a KING is nam'd, a HERO E is suppos'd*: 'Tis a reverence due to Majesty, to make the *Vertues* as conspicuous, and the *Vices* as obscure as we can possibly. And this we own, we have either perform'd, or at least endeavour'd. But if we were more favourable to that Character than the exactness of History would allow, we have been far from diminishing a *Greater*, by drawing it into comparison. You may see through the whole conduct of the Play, a *King* naturally *severe*, and a *resolution* carried on to *revenge* himself to the uttermost on the *Rebellious Conspirators*. That this was sometimes shaken by reasons of policy and pity, is confess'd; but it always return'd with greater force, and ended at last in the ruine of his Enemies. In the mean time, we cannot but observe the wonderful Loyalty on the *other Side*; that the *Play* was to be stopp'd, because the *King* was *represented*. May we have many such proofs of their Duty and respect: but there was no occasion for them here. 'Tis to be suppos'd, that his Majesty himself was made acquainted with this objection; if he were so, he was the *supream* and only *Judg* of it; and then the Event justifies us: If it were inspected only by those whom he commanded, 'tis hard if his own Officers and Servants should not see as much ill in it as other men, and be as willing to prevent it; especially when there was no sollicitation us'd to have it acted. 'Tis known that noble person to whom it was referr'd, is a severe Critique on good Sense, Decency, and Morality; and I can assure the World, that the Rules of *Horace* are more familiar to *him*, than they are to *me*. He remembers too well that the *vetus Comædia* was banish'd from the *Athenian Theatre* for its too much

much licence in representing persons, and would never have pardon'd it in this or any Play.

What opinion *Henry the Third* had of his *Succeſſor*, is evident from the words he ſpoke upon his *Death-bed*: He exhorted the Nobility (ſays *Davila*) to acknowledge the King of Navarre, to whom the Kingdom of right belong'd; and that they ſhould not ſtick at the difference of Religion: for both the King of Navarre, a man of a ſincere noble nature, would in the end return into the boſom of the Church, and the Pope being better inform'd, would receive him into his favour to prevent the ruine of the whole Kingdom. I hope I ſhall not need in this Quotation to defend my ſelf: as if it were my opinion, that the Pope has any right to diſpoſe of Kingdoms: my meaning is evident, that the Kings judgment of his Brother-in-law, was the ſame which I have copied: and I muſt farther add from *Davila*, that the Arguments I have uſed in defence of that *Succeſſion*, were chiefly drawn from the King's answer to the Deputies, as they may be ſeen more at large in page 730. and 731. of the firſt Edition of that Hiſtory in *Engliſh*: There the three Eſtates, to the wonder of all men joyntly concurr'd in cutting off the *Succeſſion*; the Clergy, who were manag'd by the Arch-biſhop of *Lyons*, and Cardinal of *Guiſe*, were the firſt who promoted it; and the Commons and Nobility afterwards conſented, as referring themſelves (ſays our Author) to the Clergy; ſo that there was only the King to ſtand in the Gap; and he by artifice diverted that Storm which was breaking upon Poſterity.

The Crown was then reduced to the loweſt Ebb of its Authority; and the King, in a manner, ſtood ſingle, and yet preserv'd his *Negative entire*: but if the Clergy and Nobility had been on his part of the Ballance, it might reaſonably be ſuppos'd, that the meeting of thoſe Eſtates at *Blois*, had heal'd the breaches of the Nation, and not

forc'd him to the *ratio ultima Regum*, which is never to be *prais'd*, nor is it here, but only *excus'd* as the last result of his necessity. As for the *Parallel* betwixt the King of *Navarre*, and any other Prince now living, what likeness the God of Nature, and the descent of Vertues in the same channel have produced, is evident; I have only to say that the Nation certainly is happy where the Royal Vertues of the Progenitors are deriv'd on their Descendants.

In that Scene, 'tis true, there is but *one* of the *Three Estates mention'd*; but the *Other two* are virtually *included*; for the *Arch-bishop* and *Cardinal* are at the head of the *Deputies*: and that the *rest* are *mute persons*, every Critique understands the reason, *ne quarta loqui persona laboraret*; I am never willing to cumber the Stage with many Speakers, when I can reasonably avoid it; as here I might. And what if I had a mind to pass over the Clergy and Nobility of *France* in silence, and to excuse them from joining in so *illegal* and so *ungodly* a *Decree*? Am I ty'd in *Poetry*, to the strict rules of *History*? I have follow'd it in this Play more closely, than suited with the Laws of the *Drama*, and a great Victory they will have, who shall discover to the World this wonderful Secret, that I have not observ'd the Unities of *place* and *time*; but are they better kept in the *Farce* of the *Libertine destroy'd*? 'Twas our common business here to draw the *Parallel* of the Times, and not to make an *Exact Tragedy*: For this once we were resolv'd to erre with honest *Shakespear*: neither can *Catiline* or *Sejanus*, (written by the great Master of our Art) stand excus'd any more than we, from this exception: but if we must be *criticis'd*, some Plays of our *Adversaries* may be expos'd, and let them reckon their gains vvhhen the dispute is ended. I am accus'd of *ignorance*, for speaking of the *Third Estate*, as *not sitting in the same House with the other two*: Let not those Gentle-

men

men mistake themselves, there are many things in *Plays* to be accommodated to the Country in vvhich vve live ; I spoke to the understanding of an *English Audience* ; Our *three Estates* novv sit, and have long done so in *Two Houses* ; but our *Records* bear witness, that they, according to the *French Custom*, have sate in one ; that is the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal within the Barr*, and the *Commons* without it. If that Custom had been still continued here, it should have been so represented ; but being otherwise, I was forc'd to write so ás to be understood by our own Country-men. If these be Errours, a *Bigger Poet* than either of us two has fallen into greater, and the *Proofs* are ready, whenever the *Suit* shall be re-commenc'd.

Mr. *Hunt*, the *Jehu* of the Party, begins very furiously with me, and says I have already condemn'd the *Charter and City*, and have executed the *Magistrates in Effigie* upon the *Stage*, in a *Play* call'd the *Duke of Guise*, frequently acted, and applauded, &c.

Compare the latter end of this Sentence with what the *Two Authors of the Reflections*, or perhaps the *Associating Clubb* of the *Devil-Tavern* write in the beginning of their Libel. *Never was Mountain deliver'd of such a Mouse ; the fiercest Tories have been asham'd to defend this Piece : they who have any sparks of wit among them are so true to their pleasure, that they will not suffer dulness to pass upon them for wit, nor tediousness for diversion : which is the reason that this Piece has not met with the expected applause : I never saw a Play more deficient in Wit, good Characters or Entertainment, than this is.*

For shame, Gentlemen, pack your Evidence a little better against another time : You see, My Lord Chief Baron, has delivered his Opinion, that the *Play* was frequently

quently acted and applauded; but you of the Jury, have found *Ignoramus*, on the *Wit* and the *Success* of it. *Oates*, *Dugdale* and *Turberville*, never disagreed more than you do; let us know at last, which of the Witnesses are true Protestants, and which are Irish. But it seems your Authors had contrary Designs: Mr. *Hunt* thought fit to say, it was frequently acted and applauded, because, says he, it was intended to provoke the Rabble into Tumults and Disorder. Now if it were not seen frequently, this Argument would lose somewhat of its force; the Reflectors business went another way, it was to be allow'd no Reputation, no Success, but to be damn'd Root and Branch, to prevent the Prejudice it might do their Party; accordingly, as much as in them lay, they have drawn a Bill of Exclusion for it on the Stage; But what Rabble was it to provoke? Are the Audience of a Play-house (which are generally Persons of Honour, Noblemen and Ladies, or at worst, as one of your Authors calls his Gallants, *Men of Wit and Pleasure about the Town*) are these the Rabble of Mr. *Hunt*? I have seen a Rabble at Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey's* Night, and have heard of such a name, at true Protestant Meeting-houses; but a Rabble is not to be provoked, where it never comes. Indeed, we had one in this Tragedy, but it was upon the Stage; and that's the Reason, why your Reflectors would break the Glass, which has shewed them their own Faces. The business of the Theatre, is to expose Vice and Folly; to dissuade men by Examples from one, and to shame them out of the other. And however you may pervert our good intentions, it was here particularly to reduce men to Loyalty, by shewing the pernicious consequences of Rebellion; and Popular Insurrections. I believe no man, who loves the Government, would be glad, to see the Rabble in such a posture, as they were represented in our Play: But if the Tragedy had ended, on your side, the Play had been a Loyal Witty Poem, the Success

cess of it, should have been recorded by immortal *Og* or *Doeg*, and the *Rabble Scene*, should have been true *Protestant*, though a *Whig Devil* were at the *Head* of it.

In the mean time, pray, where lies the Relation, betwixt the *Tragedy of the Duke of Guise*, and the *Charter of London*? Mr. *Hunt* has found a rare connexion, for he tacks them together, by the kicking of the *Sheriffs*: That Chain of thought was a little ominous, for something like a kicking, has succeeded the Printing of his *Book*; and the *Charter of London* was the *Quarrel*. For my part, I have not Law enough to state that question, much less decide it; let the *Charter* shift for it self in *Westminster Hall*, the Government is somewhat wiser, than to imploy my ignorance on such a Subject; my promise to honest *Nat. Lee*, was the only Bribe I had, to ingage me in this trouble; for which, he has the good fortune to escape *Scot-free*, and I am left in pawn for the Reckoning, who had the least share in the Entertainment. But the *Rising*, it seems, should have been on the true *Protestants side*, for he has tryed, says ingenious Mr. *Hunt*, what he could do, towards making the *Charter* forfeitable, by some *Extravagancy and Disorder of the People*. A wise man I had been doubtless for my pains, to raise the *Rabble* to a *Tumult*, where I had been certainly, one of the first men, whom they had *limn'd* or *drag'd* to the next convenient *Sign-Post*.

But on second thought, he says, this ought not to move the Citizens: he is much in the right; for the *Rabble Scene* was written on purpose, to keep his Party of them in the bounds of *Duty*. 'Tis the business of factious men to stir up the Populace: Sir *Edmond* on *Horseback*, attended by a *Swindging Pope in Effigie*, and forty thousand true *Protestants* for his Guard to Execution, are a Show more proper for that design, than a thousand *Stage-Plays*.

Well,

Well, he has fortified his Opinion with a Reason, however, why the People should not be moved; *because I have so maliciously and mischievously represented the King, and the Kings Son; nay, and his Favourite (saith he) the Duke too; to whom I give the worst strokes of my unlucky Fancy.*

This need not be answered, for 'tis already manifest, that neither the King, nor the Kings Son are represented, neither that Son, he means, nor any of the rest, God bless them all. What strokes of my unlucky Fancy, I have given to his Royal Highness, will be seen, and it will be seen also, who strikes him worst and most unluckily.

The Duke of Guise, he tells us, ought to have represented a great Prince, that had inserv'd to some most detestable Villany, to please the Rage or Lust of a Tyrant; such great Courtiers have been often sacrificed, to appease the Furies of the Tyrants guilty Conscience; to expiate for his Sin, and to atone the People. For a Tyrant naturally stands in fear of such wicked Ministers, is obnoxious to them, and by them, and they drag him to greater evils, for their own impunity, than they perpetrated for his Pleasure, and their own Ambition.

Sure, he said not all this for nothing, I would know of him, on what persons he would fix the Sting of this sharp Satyr? *What two* they are, whom, to use his own Words, he *so maliciously and mischievously* would represent? For my part, I dare not understand the villany of his meaning; but some body was to have been shown a Tyrant, and some other a great Prince, *inserting to some detestable Villany, and to that Tyrants Rage and Lust;* this great Prince or Courtier ought to be sacrificed, to atone the People, and the Tyrant is perswaded, for his own interest, to give him up to publick Justice. I say
no

no more, but that he has studied the Law to good purpose. He is dancing on the Rope without a *Metaphor*, his knowledge of the Law is the Staff that poizes him, and saves his Neck. The *Party* indeed speaks out sometimes, for wickedness is not always so wise, as to be secret, especially when it is driven to despair. By some of their Discourses, we may guess at whom he points; but he has fence'd himself in with so many Evasions, that he is safe in his Sacrilege; and he who dares to answer him, may become obnoxious. 'Tis true, he breaks a little out of the Clouds, within two Paragraphs; for there he tells you, that *Caius Cæsar* (to give unto Cæsar, the things that are Cæsars) was in the Catiline Conspiracy; a fine insinuation this, to be sneer'd at by his Party, and yet not to be taken hold of by *publick Justice*: They would be glad now, that I or any man, should bolt-out their Covert Treason for them: for their loop-hole is ready, that the *Cæsar* here spoken of, was a private man. But the application of the Text, declares the Authors to be another *Cæsar*, which is so black and so infamous an aspersion, that nothing less than the highest clemency can leave it unpunish'd. I cou'd reflect on his ignorance in this place, for attributing these words to *Cæsar*, *he that is not with us, is against us*: He seems to have mistaken them, out of the *New Testament*, and that's the best defence I can make for him; for if he did it knowingly, 'twas impiously done, to put our *Saviours words* into *Cæsar's* mouth. But *His Law* and *Our Gospel*, are two things; this Gentleman's Knowledge is not of the *Bible*, any more than his *Practice* is according to it. He tells you, he will give the world a taste of my *Atheism* and *Impiety*; for which he quotes these following Verses, in the second or third Act of the Duke of Guise.

For Conscience or Heavens fear, religious Rules
Are all State bells to toll in pious Fools.

In the first place, he is mistaken in his *Man*, for the Verses are not *mine*, but Mr. *Lees*: I ask'd him concerning them, and have this account, that they were spoken by the *Devil*; now, what can either *Whig* or *Devil* say, more proper to their *Character*, than that *Religion* is only a *Name*, a *Stalking horse*, as errant a *Property* as *Godliness*, and *Property themselves* are amongst *their Party*? yet for these two lines, which in the mouth that speaks them, are of no offence, he hallooos on the whole pack, against me: *Judge*, *Justice*, *Surrogate*, and *Official* are to be employed, at his Suit, to direct *Process*, and boring through the *Tongue* for *Blasphemy*, is the least Punishment his *Charity* will allow me.

I find 'tis happy for me, that he was not made a *Judge*, and yet I had as lieve have him my *Judge* as my Council, if my Life were at stake. My poor Lord *Stafford* was well helpt up with this Gentleman for his Solicitor; no doubt, he gave that unfortunate Nobleman, most admirable advice toward the *Saving* of his life; and would have rejoyc'd exceedingly, to have seen him clear'd. I think, I have disprov'd his instance of my *Atheism*, it remains for him, to justify his *Religion*, in putting the words of *Christ* into a *Heathens* mouth: and much more in his prophane allusion to the *Scripture*, in the other Text; *Give unto Cæsar, the things that are Cæsars*; which, if it be not a profanation of the Bible, for the sake of a *silly Witticism*, let all men, but his own Party judge. I am not malicious enough to return him the names which he has call'd me; but of all sins, I thank God, I have always abhor'd *Atheism*: and I had need be a better *Christian* than Mr. *Hunt* has shown himself, if I forgive him so infamous a *Slander*.

But as he has mistaken our *Saviour* for *Julius Cæsar*, so he would *Pompey* too, if he were let alone: to him, and

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to his *Cause*, or to the like Cause it belong'd, he says, to use these words, *he that is not with us is against us*. I find he cares not whose the Expression is, so it be not Christs. But how comes *Pompey the Great* to be a *Whig*? He was indeed, a Defender of the ancient establish'd *Roman Government*; but *Cæsar* was the *Whig*, who took up Arms unlawfully to subvert it. Our *Liberties* and our *Religion* both are safe, they are secur'd to us by the *Laws*, and those *Laws* are executed under an establish'd *Government*, by a *Lawful King*. The Defender of our *Faith*, is the Defender of our *Common Freedom*; to *Cabal*, to *Write*, to *Rail* against this Administration, are all *Endeavours* to destroy the *Government*, and to oppose the *Succession* in any private man, is a *Treasonable Practice* against the *Foundation* of it. *Pompey* very honourably maintain'd the *Liberty* of his Country, which was govern'd by a *Common-wealth*: So that there lies no *Parallel* betwixt his *Cause*, and Mr. *Hunts*, except in the bare notion of a *Common-wealth*, as it is oppos'd to *Monarchy*: and that's the thing he would obliquely slur upon us. Yet on these Premises, he is for ordering my Lord Chief Justice, to grant out *Warrants* against all those who have applauded the *Duke of Guise*; as if they committed a *Riot* when they Clapp'd: I suppose they paid for their Places, as well as he and his Party did, who Hiss'd. If he were not half *Distracted*, for not being Lord Chief Baron, methinks he should be Lawyer enough, to advise my Lord Chief Justice better. To *Clap* and *Hiss* are the Priviledges of a *Free-born Subject* in a *Play-house*: they buy them with their Money, and their Hands and Mouths are their own Property: It belongs to the *Master of the Revels*, to see that no *Treason* or *Immorality* be in the *Play*; but when 'tis acted, let every man like or dislike freely: not but that respect should be us'd too, in the presence of the King, for by his *Permission* the *Actors* are allow'd: 'Tis due to his *Person*, as he is *Sacred*, and to the Successors, as being

next related to him : there are opportunities enow for men to hiss, who are so dispos'd, in their absence : for when the King is in sight, though but by accident, a Malefactor is repriev'd from death : Yet such is the Duty, and good manners of these good Subjects, that they forbore not some rudeness in his Majesties presence ; but when his Royal Highness and his Court were only there, they push'd it as far as their malice had power ; and if their Party had been more numerous, the Affront had been greater.

The next Paragraph of our Authors, is a Panegyrique on the Duke of *Monmouth*, which concerns not me, who am very far from detracting from him : the Obligations I have had to him, were those, of his Countenance, his Favour, his good Word, and his Esteem ; all which I have likewise had in a greater measure from his excellent Dutchess, the Patroness of my poor unworthy Poetry. If I had not greater, the fault was never in their want of goodness to me, but in my own backwardness to ask, which has allways, and I believe will ever keep me from rising in the World. Let this be enough, with reasonable men, to clear me from the imputation of an ungrateful man, with which my enemies have most unjustly tax'd me. If I am a mercenary Scribler, the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury best know : I am sure, they have found me no importunate Solicitor : for I know my self, I deserv'd little, and therefore have never desir'd much. I return that slander with just disdain on my accusers ; 'tis for men who have ill Consciences to suspect others : I am resolv'd to stand or fall with the Cause of God, my King and Country ; never to trouble my self for any railing aspersions which I have not deserv'd, and to leave it as a Portion to my Children, that they had a Father, who durst do his duty, and was neither Covetous nor Mercenary.

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As little am I concern'd at that imputation of my back friends, that I have confess'd my self to be put on to write as I do : If they mean this Play in particular, that is notoriously prov'd against them to be false : For the rest of my Writings, my hatred of their Practises and Principles, was cause enough to expose them, as I have done, and will do more. I do not think as they do ; for if I did, I must think *Treason* : But I must in conscience write as I do, because I *know*, which is more than *thinking*, that I write for a *lawful establish'd Government* against *Anarchy, Innovation, and Sedition* : But *these Lyes* (as Prince Harry said to *Falstaffe*) are as gross as he that made them. More I need not say, for I am accus'd without witness. I fear not any of their *Evidences* ; not even him of *Salamanca* ; who though he has disown'd his *Doctorship* in *Spain*, yet there are some allow him to have taken a certain degree in *Italy* ; a Climate they say more proper for his *Masculine Constitution*. To conclude this ridiculous Accusation against me, I know but four men in their whole Party to whom I have spoken for above this year last past ; and with them neither but casually and cursorily. We have been acquaintance of a long standing, many years before this accursed Plot divided men into several Parties : I dare call them to witness, whether the most I have at any time said, will amount to more than this, that *I hop'd the time would come when these names of Whig and Tory would cease among us ; and that we might live together, as we had done formerly*. I have since this Pamphlet met accidentally with two of them ; and I am sure they are so far from being my Accusers, that they have severally own'd to me, that all men who espouse a Party, must expect to be blacken'd by the contrary Side : that themselves knew nothing of it, nor of the *Authors* of the *Reflections*. It remains therefore to be consider'd, whether, if I were as much a *Knave* as they wou'd make me, I am *Fool* enough to be guilty

ty of this Charge : and whether they who rais'd it, wou'd have made it publique, if they had thought I was theirs inwardly. For 'tis plain they are glad of worse Scriblers than I am, and maintain them too, as I could prove, if I envy'd them their miserable subsistence. I say no more, but let my Actions speak for me : *spectemur agendo*, that's the trial.

Much less am I concern'd at the noble name of *Bayes* ; that's a *Brat* so like his own *Father* , that he cannot be mistaken for any other body : they might as reasonably have call'd *Tom Sternhold*, *Virgil*, and the resemblance would have held as well.

As for *Knave* and *Sycophant*, and *Rascal*, and *Impudent*, and *Devil*, and *old Serpent*, and a thousand such Good-morrows, I take them to be only names of Parties : And cou'd return *Murtherer* and *Cheat*, and *Whig-napper*, and *Sodomite* ; and in short the goodly number of the *seven deadly Sins*, with all their Kindred and Relations, which are Names of Parties too ; but *Saints* will be *Saints* in spight of Villainy. I believe they wou'd pass themselves upon us for such a *Compound* as *Mithridate*, or *Venice-Treacle* ; as if Whiggism were an admirable *Cordial* in the *Mas*, though the several *Ingredients* are ranck *Poysons*.

But if I think either Mr. *Hunt* a *Villain*, or know any of my *Reflectors* to be *ungrateful Rogues*, I do not owe them so much kindness as to call them so ; for I am satisfied that to prove them either, would but recommend them to their own Party. Yet if some will needs make a *merit* of their *infamy*, and provoke a *Legend* of their *sordid lives*, I think they must be gratify'd at last ; and though I will not take the *Scavengers* employment from him, yet I may be perswaded to *point* at some mens doors, who have heaps of filth before them. But this must be when they

they have a little anger'd me ; for hitherto I am provok'd no further than to smile at them. And indeed, to look upon the whole Faction in a lump, never was a more pleasant sight than to behold these builders of a new *Babel*, how ridiculouſly they are mix'd, and what a rare confuſion there is amongſt them. One part of them is carrying Stone and Mortar for the building of a *Meeting-houſe*, another ſort underſtand not that Language ; they are for ſnatching away their Work-fellows materials to ſet up a *Bawdy-houſe* : ſome of them *blaſpheme*, and others *pray* ; and both I believe with equal godlineſs at bottom : ſome of them are *Atheiſts*, ſome *Seſtaries*, yet *ALL True Proteſtants*. Moſt of them love *all Whores*, but her of *Babylon*. In few words, any man may be what he will, ſo he be one of *Them*. 'Tis enough to deſpiſe the *King*, to hate the *Duke*, and rail at the *Succession* : after this 'tis no matter how a man lives ; he is a *Saint* by *infection* ; he goes along with the *Party*, has their *mark* upon him ; his *wickedneſs* is no more than *frailty* ; their *righteouſneſs* is *imputed* to him : So that as *ignorant rogues* go out *Doctors* when a *Prince* comes to an *Univerſity*, they hope at the *laſt day*, to take their *Degree* in a Crowd of *True Proteſtants*, and thruſt unheeded into Heaven.

'Tis a credit to be rayl'd at by ſuch men as theſe. The *Charter-man* in the very *Title-page*, where he hangs out the *Cloth* of the *City* before his Book, gives it for his *Motto*, *Si populus vult decipi, decipiatur* ; as if he ſhou'd have ſaid, *you have a mind to be conzen'd, and the Devil give you good on't* : If I cry a *Sirreverence*, and you take it for *Honey*, make the beſt of your bargain. For ſhame, good Chriſtians, can you ſuffer ſuch a man to *ſterve*, when you ſee his deſign is upon your *Purſes* ? He is contented to expoſe the *Ears* *representative* of your *Party* on a *Pil-lory*, and is in a way of doing you more ſervice than a worn out *Witness*, who can hang no body hereafter but himſelf. He tells you the *Papiſts* clap their hands in

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the hopes they conceive of the ruine of your Government : does not this *single syllable* YOUR deserve a *Pention*, if he can prove the Government to be Yours, and that the King has *nothing* to do in your Republick? he continues, as if that were as sure and certain to Them, as it is to Us, without doubt, that they (the Papists) once fired the City, just as certain in your own Consciencés. I wish the Papists had no more to answer for, than that accusation; pray let it be put to the *Vote*, and resolv'd upon the *question*, by your whole Party, that the North-east Wind, is not only *ill-affected* to Man and Beast, but is also a *Tory* or *Tantivy Papist* in *Masquerade*. I am satisfy'd, not to have *so much art* left me as to frame any thing agreeable, or *verisimilar*, but 'tis plain that he has, and therefore, as I ought in justice, I resign my *Laurel*, and my *Bayes* too, to Mr. *Hunt*; 'tis he sets up for the Poet now; and has the only art to *amuse* and to *deceive the people*. You may see how profound his knowledg is in *Poetry*; for he tells you just before, that *my Heroes are commonly such Monsters as Theseus and Hercules*; renown'd throughout all Ages for *destroying*. Now *Theseus* and *Hercules* you know have been the *Heroes* of all Poets, and have been renown'd through all Ages, for *destroying Monsters*, for *succouring the Distress*, and for putting to death *inhumane arbitrary Tyrants*. Is this your *Oracle*? If he were to write the Acts and Monuments of *Whig Heroes*, I find they shou'd be quite contrary to mine: *destroyers* indeed, but of a *Lawful Government*; *Murtherers*, but of their fellow *Subjects*; *Lovers* as *Hercules* was of *Hylas*; with a journey at last to *Hell*, like that of *Theseus*.

But mark the wise Consequences of our Author. I have not, he says, *so much art* left me to make any thing agreeable, or *verisimilar*, wherewith to *amuse* or *deceive the people*: and yet in the very next Paragraph, my Province is to *corrupt the Manners of the Nation*, and lay waste their
Morals,

Morals, and my endeavours are more happily apply'd, to extinguish the little remainders of the Vertue of the Age. Now I am to perform all this, it seems, without making any thing verisimilar or agreeable: Why, Pharaoh never set the Israelites such a Task, to build Pyramids without Brick or Straw. If the Fool knows it not, verisimilitude and agreeableness, are the very Tools to do it; but I am willing to disclaim them both, rather than to use them to so ill purpose as he has done.

Yet even this their celebrated Writer, knows no more of *Style and English*, than the *Northern Dedicator*. As if *Dulness and Clumsiness* were fatal to the Name of *TO M*. 'Tis true, he is a *Fool in three Languages* more than the *Poet*, for they say, he understands *Latine, Greek and Hebrew*, from all which, to my certain knowledge, I acquit the other. Og may write against the King if he pleases, so long as he *Drinks* for him; and his *Writings* will never do the Government so much harm, as his *Drinking* does it good: for true Subjects, will not be much perverted by his *Libels*; but the *Wine Duties* rise considerably by his *Claret*. He has often call'd me an *Atheist* in Print, I would believe more charitably of him; and that he only goes the *broad way*, because the other is too *narrow* for him. He may see by this, I do not delight to meddle with his course of *Life*, and his *Immoralities*, though I have a long *Bead-roll* of them. I have hitherto contented my self with the *Ridiculous* part of him, which is enough in all conscience to employ one man: even without the story of his late fall at the *Old Devil*, where he *broke no Ribbs*, because the hardness of the *Stairs* cou'd reach *no Bones*; and for my part, I do not wonder how he came to *fall*, for I have always known him heavy; the Miracle is, how he got *up again*. I have heard of a *Sea-Captain* as *fat* as he, who to scape Arrests, would lay himself flat upon the ground, and let the *Bay-liffs*

liffs carry him to *Prison*, if they cou'd. If a Messenger or two, nay, we may put in three or four, should come, he has friendly Advertisement how to scape them. But to leave him, who is not worth any further consideration, now I have done laughing at him, Wou'd every man knew his own Tallent, and that they who are only born for *drinking*, wou'd let both *Poetry* and *Prose* alone.

I am weary with tracing the Absurdities and Mistakes of our great Lawyer, some of which indeed are *wilful*; as where he calls the *Trimmers*, the *more moderate sort of Tories*. It seems those Politicians are odious to both sides; for neither own them to be theirs. We know them, and so does he too in his Conscience, to be *secret Whigs*, if they are any thing. But now the designs of *Whiggism* are openly discover'd, they tack about to save a Stake, that is, they will not be villains to their own ruine. While the Government was to be destroyed, and there was probability of compassing it, no men were so violent as they; but since their *Fortunes* are in hazard by the *Law*, and their *Places at Court* by the *Kings displeasure*, they pull in their horns, and talk more peaceably; in order, I suppose, to their vehemence on the right side, if they were to be believ'd. For in laying of Colours, they observe a *Medium*; Black and white are too far distant, to be plac'd directly by one another, without some shadowings to soften their contrarieties. 'Tis *Mariana* I think (but am not certain) that makes the following relation; and let the noble Family of *Trimmers*, read their own Fortune in it. *Don Pedro*, King of Castile, *Sirnam'd* the Cruel, *who had been restor'd by the Valour of our Edward the Black Prince*, *was finally dispossest'd by Don Henry the Bastard*, and he enjoyed the Kingdom quietly, till his Death; which, when he felt approaching, he call'd his Son to him, and gave him this his last Counsel. I have, said he, gain'd this Kingdom, which I leave you, by
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the Sword ; for the Right of Inheritance was in Don Pedro ; but the favour of the People, who hated my Brother for his Tyranny, was to me instead of Title. You are now to be the Peaceable Possessor of of what I have unjustly gotten : and your Subjects are compos'd of these three sorts of men. One Party espous'd my Brothers Quarrel, which was the undoubted Lawful Cause ; those, though they were my Enemies, were men of Principle and Honour : cherish them, and exalt them into Places of trust about you, for in them you may confide safely, who priz'd their Fidelity above their Fortune. Another sort, are they who fought my Cause against Don Pedro, to those you are indeed oblig'd, because of the accidental good they did me, for they intended only their private Benefit, and help'd to raise me, that I might afterwards promote them : You may continue them in their Offices, if you please ; but trust them no farther than you are forc'd, for what they did, was against their Conscience. But there is a third sort, which during the whole Wars, were Neuters ; let them be crush'd on all occasions, for their business was only their own Security. They had neither Courage enough to ingage on my Side, nor Conscience enough to help their Lawful Sovereign : therefore let them be made Examples, as the worst sort of interested men, which certainly are Enemies to both, and would be profitable to neither.

I have only a dark remembrance of this Story, and have not the Spanish Author by me, but I think, I am not much mistaken in the main of it : and whether true or false, the Counsel given, I am sure, is such, as ought in common prudence, to be practis'd against Trimmers, whether the Lawful or Unlawful Cause prevail. Loyal men may justly be displeas'd with this Party, not for their Moderation, as Mr. Hunt insinuates ; but because, under that Masque of seeming mildness, there lies hidden either a deep treachery, or at best, an interress'd luke-

warmness. But he runs riot into almost treasonable Expressions, as if *Trimmers* were hated because they are not perfectly wicked, or perfectly deceiv'd, of the *Catiline* make, bold, and without understanding, that can adhere to men that publickly profess Murthers, and applaud the design: By all which villanous names, he opprobriously calls His Majesties most loyal Subjects; as if Men must be perfectly wicked who endeavour to support a lawful Government; or perfectly deceiv'd, who on no occasion dare take up arms against their Sovereign: as if acknowledging the right of Succession, and resolving to maintain it in the Line, were to be in a *Catiline* Conspiracy; and at last, (which is ridiculous enough, after so much serious Treason) as if to clap the *Duke of Guise*, were to adhere to men that publickly profess Murthers, and applaud the design of the *Assassinating Poets*.

But together with his *Villanies*, pray let his *incoherences* be observ'd. He commends the *Trimmers* (at least tacitly excuses them) for men of some moderation; and this in opposition to the instruments of wickedness of the *Catiline*-make, that are resolute and forward, and without consideration. But he forgets all this in the next twenty lines; for there he gives them their own, and tells them roundly, *in internecino bello mediū pro hostibus habentur*. Neutral men are Traytors, and assist by their indifferency to the destruction of the Government. The plain *English* of his meaning, is this; while matters are only in dispute, and in *machination*, he is contented they shou'd be moderate; but when once the Faction can bring about a *Civil War*, then they are *Traytors*, if they declare not openly for them.

But it is not, he says, the *Duke of Guise*, who is to be assassinated, a turbulent wicked and haughty Courtier, but an innocent and gentle Prince: By his favour, our *Duke of Guise*

Guise, was neither *Innocent* nor *Gentle*, nor a Prince of the *Blood Royal*, though he pretended to descend from *Charlemaign*, and a *Genealogy* was printed to that purpose, for which the Author was punish'd, as he deserv'd; witness *Davila*, and the *Journals* of *Henry the Third*, where the Story is at large related. Well, who is it then? why, 'tis a *Prince who has no fault, but that he is the Kings Son*: Then he has no fault by consequence; for I am certain, that's no fault of his. The rest of the *Complement*, is so silly, and so fulsome, as if he meant it all in *ridicule*. And to conclude the *Jest*, he says, that the best People of England, have no other way left, to show their Loyalty to the King, their Religion and Government, in long intervals of Parliament, than by prosecuting his Son, for the sake of the King, and his own merit, with all the *Demonstrations* of the highest esteem. Yes, I can tell them one other way to express their Loyalty, which is, to obey the King, and to respect his Brother, as the next *Lawful Successor*; their Religion commands them both, and the Government is secur'd in so doing. But why in *Intervals* of Parliament? How are the more oblig'd to honour the *Kings Son* out of Parliament, than in it? And why this prosecution of Love for the *Kings Sake*? Has he order'd more Love to be shown to one Son, than to another? Indeed, his own quality, is cause sufficient for all men to respect him, and I am of their number, who truly honour him, and who wish him better than this miserable *Sycophant*; for I wish him, from his Fathers Royal Kindness what *Justice* can make him, which is a greater Honour, than the Rabble can confer upon him.

But our Author finds, that *Commendation* is no more his Talent, than *Flattery* was that of *Esop's Ass*; and therefore falls immediately, from pawing with his fore-feet, and
grinning

grinning upon one Prince, to downright braying against another.

He says I have not us'd my Patron Duke much better : for I have put him under a most dismal and unfortunate Character, of a Successor, excluded from the Crown by Act of State, for his Religion; who fought his way to the Crown, chang'd his Religion, and died by the hand of a Roman Assassinate.

If it please his Royal Highness to be my Patron, I have reason to be proud of it ; because he never yet forsook any man, whom he has had the goodness to own for his. But how have I put him under an unfortunate Character ? the Authors of the Reflections, and our John a Nokes, have not layd their noddles together about this Accusation. For 'tis their business to prove the King of Navarre to have been a most successful, magnanimous, gentle, and grateful Prince : in which Character they have follow'd the stream of all Historians. How then happens this jarring amongst friends, that the same man is put under such dismal circumstances on one side, and so fortunate on the other, by the Writers of the same Party ? The answer is very plain, that they take the cause by several handles. They who will not have the Duke resemble the King of Navarre, have magnify'd the Character of that Prince, to debase his Royal Highness ; and therein done what they can to show the disparity. Mr. Hunt, who will have it to be the Dukes Character, has blacken'd that King as much as he is able, to show the likeness. Now this wou'd be ridiculous pleading at a Barr, by Lawyers retain'd for the same Cause ; and both sides wou'd call each other fools, because the Jury betwixt them wou'd be confounded, and perhaps the Judges too.

But this it is to have a bad Cause, which puts men of necessity upon knavery; and that knavery is commonly found out. Well Mr. *Hunt* has in another place confess'd himself to be in *passion*, and that's the reason he is so grossly mistaken in opening of the Cause. For first the King of *Navarre* was neither under *dismall*, nor *unfortunate circumstances*. Before the end of that very Sentence, our Lawyer has confess'd that *he fought his way to the Crown*; that is, he gloriously vanquish'd all his Rebels, and happily possess'd his Inheritance many years after he had regain'd it. In the next place, he was *never excluded from the Crown by Act of State*. He chang'd his Religion indeed, but not till he had almost *weather'd the Storm*, recover'd the best part of his *Estate*, and gain'd some glorious *Victories in pitch'd Battels*; so that his *changing* cannot without injustice be attributed to his *fear*. *Monsieur Chiverny*, in his *Memoirs* of those times plainly tells us, that *he solemnly promis'd to his Predecessour Henry the Third, then dying, that he wou'd become a Romanist*; and *Davila*, though he says not this *directly*, yet *denyes* it not. By whose hands *Henry the fourth* died, is notoriously known; but it is invidiously urg'd, both by Mr. *Hunt* and the *Reflectors*: for we may, to our shame, remember, that a King of our own Country was *barbarously murder'd* by his *Subjects*, who profess'd the *same Religion*; though I believe that neither *Jaques Clement*, nor *Ravillac*, were *better Papists*, than the *Independents* and *Presbyterians* were *Protestants*: So that their *Argument* only proves that there are *Rogues* of all *Religions*: *Iliacos intra muros peccatur & extra*. But Mr. *Hunt* follows his blow again, that I have offer'd a *Justification of an Act of Exclusion* against a *Popish Successour* in a *Protestant Kingdom*, by remembering what was done against the King of *Navarre*, who was *de facto* excluded by an *Act of State*. My Gentleman, I perceive, is very willing to call that an *Act of Exclusion*.

Exclusion, and an Act of State, which is only in our Language, call'd a *Bill* : for *Henry the third* cou'd never be gain'd to *pass* it, though it was propos'd by the *three Estates* at *Blois*. The *Reflectors* are more modest ; for they profess, (though I am afraid it is somewhat against the grain) that a *Vote* of the House of *Commons* is not an *Act* : But the times are turn'd upon them, and they dare speak no other Language. Mr. *Hunt* indeed is a *bold Republican*, and tells you the bottom of their meaning. Yet why should it make the *courage of his Royal Highness's* quail, to find himself under this representation ? which by our Authors favour, is neither *dismal*, nor *disastrous*. *Henry the Fourth* escap'd this dreadful Machine of the *League* : I say *dreadful* ; for the *three Estates* were at that time compos'd generally of *Guisards, factious, hot headed rebellious interressed men* : The King in *possession*, was but his *Brother-in-Law* ; and at that time publicly his *Enemy* ; for the King of *Navarre* was then in *arms* against him : and yet the sense of *Common Justice*, and the good of his *People* so prevail'd , that he withstood the Project of the *States*, which he also knew was levell'd at *himself* ; for had the *Exclusion* proceeded, he had been immediately lay'd by, and the *Lieutenancy of France* conferr'd on *Guise* : after which the Rebel wou'd certainly have put up his Title for the Crown. In the Case of his *Royal Highness*, only *one* of the *three Estates* have offer'd at the *Exclusion* ; and have been constantly oppos'd by the *other two*, and by his *Majesty* : Neither is it any way probable , that the like will ever be again attempted : For the *fatal Consequences*, as well as the *Illegality* of that Design, are seen through already by the *People*. So that instead of offering a *justification* of an Act of *Exclusion* , I have expos'd a *rebellious, impious, and fruitless* contrivance tending to it. If we look on the *Parliament of Paris*, when they were in their right wits, before

before they were *intoxicated* by the *League*, (at least wholly) we shall find them *addressing* to King *Henry the third* in another Key, concerning the King of *Navarre's Succession*, though he was at that time (as they call'd it) a *relaps'd Heretique*. And to this purpose I will quote a passage out of the *Journals of Henry the Third*, so much magnify'd by my Adversaries:

Towards the end of *September, 1585*. there was published at *Paris*; a Bull of *Excommunication*; against the King of *Navarre*, and the Prince of *Conde*: The Parliament of *Paris*, made their *Remonstrance* to the King upon it, which was both grave, and worthy of the Place they held, and of the Authority they have in this Kingdom. Saying, for conclusion, that *their Court had found the Style of this Bull, so full of Innovation; and so distant from the Modesty of antient Popes, that they could not understand in it, the voice of an Apostles Successor; forasmuch, as they found not in their Records, nor in the search of all Antiquity, that the Princes of France, had ever been subject to the Justice or Jurisdiction of the Pope, and they could not take it into consideration, till first he made appear the Right which he pretended in the Translation of Kingdoms, establish'd and ordain'd by Almighty God; before the Name of Pope was heard of in the World.* 'Tis plain by this, that the Parliament of *Paris*, acknowledg'd an inherent Right of Succession in the King of *Navarre*, though of a contrary Religion to their own: And though after the Duke of *Guise's* Murther at *Blois*, the City of *Paris* revolted from their Obedience to their King, pretending that he was fallen from the Crown, by reason of that and other Actions, with which they charg'd him; yet the sum of all their Power to renounce him, and create the Duke of *Mayenne Lieutenant General*, depended ultimately on the *Popes authority*; which as you see, but three years before, they had peremptorily denied.

The Colledge of Sorbonne began the Dance, by their Determination, that the *Kingly Right was forfeited*; and stripping him of all his *Dignities*, they call'd him plain *Henry de Valois*: after this, says my Author, *sixteen Rascals* (by which he means the Council, of that Number) having administred the Oath of Government to the Duke of Mayenne, to take in quality of Lievtenant General of the Estate and Crown of France; the same ridiculous Dignity, was confirm'd to him, by an imaginary Parliament, the true Parliament being detain'd Prisoners, in divers of the City-Gaols, and two new Seals were order'd to be immediately made, with this Inscription: The Seal of the Kingdom of France. I need not enlarge on this Relation, 'tis evident from hence, that the *Sorbonists* were the Original, and our *Schismatiques* in England, were the Copiers of Rebellion; that *Paris* began, and *London* follow'd.

The next Lines of my Author are, that a Gentleman of *Paris*, made the Duke of Mayenne's Picture to be drawn, with a Crown Imperial on his Head, and I have heard of an English Nobleman, who has at this day, the Picture of Old Oliver, with this Motto underneath it, *Utinam vixeris*. All this while, this cannot be reckon'd an Act of State, for the Deposing King Henry the Third; because it was an Act of Overt Rebellion in the *Parisians*: neither could the holding of the three Estates at *Paris*, afterwards, by the same Duke of Mayenne, devolve any Right on him, in prejudice of King Henry the Fourth; though those pretended States, declar'd his Title void, on the account of his Religion: because those Estates could neither be call'd nor holden, but by and under the Authority of the Lawful King. It wou'd take more time than I have allow'd, for this Vindication, or I cou'd easily

easily trace from the *French History*, what Misfortunes attended *France*, and how near it was to Ruine, by the Endeavors to alter the Succession. For first, it was actually *Dismembred*, the Duke of *Merceur* setting up a Principality in the Dutchy of *Bretagne*, *Independant* of the *Crown*: the Duke of *Mayenne* had an evident design to be elected *King*, by the favour of the *People* and the *Pope*: the young Dukes of *Guise* and of *Nemours*, aspir'd with the interest of the *Spaniards*, to be chosen, by their Marriage with the *Infanta Izabella*. The Duke of *Lorraine*, was for cantling out some part of *France*, which lay next his Territories; and the Duke of *Savoy*, had before the Death of *Henry the Third*, actually possess'd himself of the *Marquisate of Saluces*. But above all, the *Spaniards* fomented these Civil Wars, in hopes to reduce that flourishing Kingdom, under their own *Monarchy*. To as many, and as great Mischiefs, should we be evidently subject; if we should madly ingage our selves, in the like Practises of altering the *Succession*, which our Gracious King, in his Royal Wisdom well forsaw; and has cut up that accursed Project by the Roots; which will render the memory of his *Justice* and *Prudence*, *Immortal* and *Sacred to future Ages*, for having not only preserv'd our present quiet, but secur'd the Peace of our Posterity.

'Tis clearly manifest, that no Act of State pass'd, to the *Exclusion* of either, the King of *Navarre*, or of *Henry the Fourth*; consider him, in either of the two circumstances: but *Oracle Hunt*, taking this for granted, wou'd prove à fortiori, that if a Protestant Prince, were actually excluded from a Popish Kingdom, then a Popish Successor is more reasonably to be excluded from a Protestant Kingdom; because, says he, a Protestant Prince, is under no Obligation to destroy his Popish Subjects, but a Popish Prince, is to destroy his Protestant Subjects: upon

which bare supposition, without farther Proof, he calls him *insufferable Tyrant*, and the worst of *Monsters*.

Now I take the matter quite otherwise, and bind myself to maintain, that there is not, nor can be any Obligation, for a King to destroy his Subjects of a contrary Perswasion, to the establish'd Religion of his Country : for *quatenus Subjects*, of what Religion soever, *he is infallibly bound* to preserve and cherish, and not to destroy them : and this is the first duty of a Lawful Sovereign, as such, antecedent to any tie or consideration of his Religion. Indeed, in those Countries where the *Inquisition* is introduced, it goes harder with *Protestants*, and the reason is manifest, because the Protestant Religion has not gotten footing there, and severity is the means to keep it out : But to make this instance, reach *England*, our Religion must not only be chang'd (which in it self, is almost impossible to imagine) but the Council of *Trent* receiv'd and the *Inquisition* admitted, which *many Popish Countries* have rejected. I forget not the Cruelties, which were exercis'd in Queen *Maries* time, against the *Protestants* ; neither do I any way excuse them : But it follows not, that every *Popish Successor* shou'd take example by them, for every ones Conscience of the same Religion, is not guided by the same Dictates in his Government : Neither does it follow, that if one be cruel, another must ; especially, when there is a stronger Obligation, and greater Interest to the contrary : For if a *Popish King* in *England* shou'd be bound to destroy his *Protestant People*, I wou'd ask the Question, over whom he meant to Reign afterwards ? and how many Subjects would be left ?

In Queen *Maries* time, the Protestant Religion had scarcely taken root : And it is reasonable to be suppos'd, that she found the number of Papists, equalling that of the

the Protestants, at her entrance to the Kingdom; especially if we reckon into the account those who were the *Trimmers* of the times; I mean such, who privately were Papists, though under her Protestant Predecessour they appear'd otherwise. Therefore her difficulties in persecuting her reform'd Subjects, were far from being so insuperable, as ours now are, when the strength and number of the Papists is so very inconsiderable. They who cast in the Church of *England* as ready to embrace *Poper*y, are either *Knaves* enough to know they *lye*, or *Fools* enough not to have consider'd the *Tenents* of that Church, which are *diametrically opposite* to *Poper*y; and more so than any of the *Se*cts.

Not to insist on the quiet and security, which Protestant Subjects at this day enjoy in some parts of *Germany*, under Popish Princes; where I have been assur'd, that *Mass* is said, and a *Lutheran Sermon* preach'd in different parts of the same Church, on the same day, without disturbance on either side; nor on the Priviledges granted by *Henry the Fourth* of *France* to his Party, after he had forsaken their Opinions, which they quietly possess'd for a long time after his death:

The *French Histories* are full of *Examples*, manifestly proving, that the fiercest of their *Popish Princes* have not thought themselves bound to destroy their *Protestant Subjects*; and the several *Edicts* granted under them, in favor of the *Reform'd Religion*, are pregnant instances of this truth. I am not much given to Quotations, but *Davila* lies open for every man to read. *Tolerations*, and free exercise of *Religion*, granted more *amply* in some, more *restrainedly* in others, are no sign that those Princes held themselves oblig'd in *Conscience* to destroy men of a different Perswasion. It will be said those *Tolerations* were gain'd by force

of *Arms* : In the first place 'tis no great credit to the Protestant Religion, that the Protestants in *France* were actually *Rebels*. But the truth is, they were only *Geneva Protestants*, and their opinions were far distant from those of the Church of *England*, which teaches *passive obedience* to all her Soas, and not to propagate *Religion* by *Rebellion*. But 'tis further to be consider'd, that those *French Kings*, though *Papists*, thought the preservation of their Subjects, and the publick Peace, were to be consider'd, before the gratification of the Court of *Rome* ; and though the number of the *Papists*, exceeded that of the *Protestants*, in the proportion of three to one ; though the Protestants were always beaten when they fought, and though the Popes press'd continually with Exhortations and Threatnings to extirpate *Calvinism*, yet Kings thought it enough to continue in their own Religion themselves, without forcing it upon their Subjects, much less destroying them who profess'd another. But it will be objected those Edicts of Toleration were not kept on the *Papists* side: They wou'd answer, because the Protestants stretch'd their Privileges further than was granted : and that they often relaps'd into *Rebellion* : But whether or no the *Protestants* were in fault, I leave History to determine : 'tis matter of fact, that they were barbarously massacred, under the protection of the *Publick Faith* : Therefore to argue fairly, either an Oath from *Protestants* is not to be taken by a *Popish Prince* ; or if taken, ought inviolably to be preserv'd. For when we oblige our selves to any one, 'tis not his person we so much consider, as that of the most high God, who is call'd to witness this our action : and 'tis to him we are to discharge our Conscience. Neither is there, or can be any tie on *humane Society*, when that of an Oath is no more regarded : which being an appeal to God, he is immediate Judge of it ; and Chronicles are not silent how often he has punish'd perjur'd Kings. The instance of

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Vladislaus King of *Hungary*, breaking his faith with *Amurath the Turk*, at the instigation of *Julian the Popes Legate*, and his miserable death ensuing it, shows that even to *Infidels*, much more to *Christians*, that obligation ought to be accounted sacred. And I the rather urge this, because it is an Argument taken almost *verbatim* from a *Papist*, who accuses *Catharine de Medicis* for violating her word given to the *Protestants* during her *Regency of France*. What securities in particular we have, that our own Religion and Liberties wou'd be preserv'd, though under a *Papist Successour*, any one may inform himself at large in a Book lately written by the Reverend and learned Doctor *Hicks*, call'd *Jovian*, in answer to *Julian the Apostate*: in which, that truly Christian Author has satisfy'd all scruples which reasonable men can make, and prov'd that we are in no danger of losing either; and wherein also, if those assurances shou'd all fail (which is almost morally impossible) the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* is *unanswerably demonstrated*: a Doctrine deliver'd with so much sincerity, and resignation of spirit, that it seems evident the Assertor of it is ready, if there were occasion, to seal it with his blood.

I have done with mannerly Mr. *Hunt*, who is only *magnis nominis umbra*; the most *malicious*, and withal, the most *incoherent ignorant* Scribler of the whole Party. I insult not over his misfortunes, though he has himself occasion'd them: and though I will not take his own excuse, that he is in passion, I will make a better for him; for I conclude him crack'd: and if he should return to *England*, am charitable enough to wish his only Prison might be *Bedlam*. This Apology is truer than that he makes for me: for writing a *Play*, as I conceive, is not entring into the *Observers Province*; neither is it the *Observers* manner to confound truth with falsehood, to put out the eyes of
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People, and leave them without understanding. The quarrel of the Party to him, is that he has undeceiv'd the ignorant, and laid open the shameful contrivances of the *new vampire Association*: that though he is *on the wrong side of life*, as he calls it, yet he pleads not his *Age* to be *Emeritus*: that in short, he has left the Faction as bare of *Arguments*, as *Esops Bird* of feathers; and plum'd them of all those fallacies and evasions which they borrowed from *Jesuits* and *Presbyterians*.

Now for my *Templar* and *Poet* in association for a *Libel*, like the Conjunction of *Saturn* and *Jupiter* in a *fiery Sign*: what the *one* wants in *Wit*, the *other* must supply in *Lap*. As for Malice, their quota's are indifferently well adjusted: the *rough Draught* I take for granted, is the *Poets*, the *finishings* the *Lawyers*. They begin, that in order to one Mr. *Friend's* commands, one of them went to see the Play. This was not the *Poet*, I am certain, for no body saw him there, and he is not of a *Size* to be conceal'd. But the *Mountain*, they say, was deliver'd of a *Mouse*: I have been *Gossip* to many such *Labors* of a *dull fat Scribler*, where the *Mountain* has been *bigger*, and the *Mouse* less. The next *Sally*, is on the *City Elections*, and a Charge is brought against my *Lord Mayor*, and the two *Sheriffs*, for excluding true *Electors*. I have heard, that a *Whig Gentleman* of the *Temple*, hired a *Livery-Gown*, to give his Voice among the *Companies* at *Guild-Hall*: let the question be put, *whether or no, he were a true Elector?* Then their own *Juries* are commended from several *Topiques*; they are the *Wiseſt*, *Richeſt*, and most *Conſcientious*: to which is answer'd *Ignoramus*. But our *Juries* give most *prodigious* and *unheard of Damages*. Hithero there is nothing but *Boys-play* in our *Authors*: *My Mill grinds Pepper and Spice, your Mill grinds Rats and Mice*. They go on, if I may be allow'd to judge

judge (as men that do not *Poetize*, may be Judges of Wit, *Humane nature* and *Common Decencies* :) So then the Sentence is begun with *I* : there is but one of them puts in for a Judges Place : *that's he in the Gray* : but presently 'tis men ; *two more in Buckram* , wou'd be Judges too. Neither of them it seems, *Poetize* ; that's true, but both of them are in at *Rhime Doggrel* ; witness the Song against the *Bishops* , and the *Tunbridge-Ballad*. By the way, I find all my Scribling Enemies have a mind to be Judges, and Chief Barons : proceed Gentlemen. *This Play (as I am inform'd by some, who have a nearer Communication with the Poets and the Players, than I have.)* Which of the two *Sofia's* is it that now speaks ? If the *Lawyer*, 'tis true, he has but little *Communication* with the *Players* : if the *Poet*, the *Players* have but little *Communication* with him. For 'tis not long ago, he said to some body, *By G— my Lord, those Tory-rogues will act none of my Plays*. Well, but the Accusation, that this Play was once written by another, and then 'twas call'd the *Parisian Massacre* : Such a Play, I have heard indeed was written ; but I never saw it. Whether this be any of it or no, I can say no more, than for my own part of it. But pray, who denies the unparalleled villany of the *Papists*, in that bloody *Massacre* ? I have enquired, why it was not Acted, and heard it was stopt, by the interposition of an *Ambassador*, who was willing to save the Credit of his Country, and not to have the Memory of an Action so barbarous, reviv'd. But that I tempted my Friend to alter it, is a notorious *Whiggism* to save the broader Word. The *Sicilian Vespers* I have had Plotted by me above these seven years : The Story of it, I found under borow'd Names in *Giraldo Cinthio* ; but the Rape in my Tragedy of *Amboyna*, was so like it, that I forbore the Writing. But what had this to do with *Protestants* ? for the *Massacres* and the *Massacred* were all *Papists*.

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But 'tis observable, they say, that though the *Massacre* could not be acted, as it was first written against *Papists*, yet when it was turn'd upon *Protestants*, it found reception.

Now all's come out, the Scandal of the Story, turns at last upon the *Government*: that *Patronises Popish Plays*, and forbids *Protestant*. Ours is to be a *Popish Play*, why? because it exposes the Villany of *Sectaries* and *Rebels*? Prove them first to be *Protestants*, and see what you will get by it when you have done? your Party are certainly the men whom the Play attacks; and so far I will help you: the Designs and Actions represented in the Play, are such as you have Copyed from the *League*; for though you have wickedness enough, yet you wanted the *Wit* to make a new *Contrivance*. But for shame, while you are carrying on such palpable villany, do not assume the name of *Protestants*. You will tell us, you are friends to the *Government*, and the Kings best *Subjects*; but all the while, you are aspersing both *it* and *him*. Who shall be Judges, whether you are Friends or not? the *Government* or *you*? Have not all *Rebels* always sung the same Song? Was ever Thief or Murderer Fool enough to plead *Guilty*? For your *Love* and *Loyalty* to the King, they who mean him best amongst you, are no better Subjects than *Duke Trinculo*: They wou'd be content he shou'd be *Viceroy*, so they may be *Viceroy*s over him.

The next Accusation is particular to me, that *I* the said Bays, wou'd falsely and feloniously, have robb'd Nat. Lee, of his share in the Reputation of *Oedipus*: Now I am *Culprit*; I writ the first and third Acts of *Oedipus*, and drew the *Scenary* of the whole Play: when ever I have own'd a farther Proportion, let my Accusers speak: this

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was meant mischievously, to set ustwo at variance: Who is the *old Serpent* and *Satan* now? When my Friends help my barren Fancy, I am thankful for it: I do not use to receive assistance, and afterwards ungratefully disown it.

Not long after, *Exemplary Punishment* is due to me, for this most *devilish Parallel*. 'Tis a devilish one indeed; but who can help it, if I draw *Devils* like *one another*, the fault is in themselves for being so: I neither made their Horns nor Claws, nor cloven Feet: I know not what I shou'd have done, unless I had drawn the *Devil* a *handsom proper Gentleman*, like the Painter in the Fable, to have made a *Friend* of him; but I ought to be *exemplarily punish'd* for it; when the *Devil* gets uppermost, I shall expect it. In the mean time, let *Magistrates* (that respect their Oaths and Office) which words you see, are put into a *Parenthesis*; as (if God help us) we had none such now; let them put the Law in execution, against lewd *Scriblers*, the *Mark* will be too fair upon a *Pillory*, for a *Turnip* or a *rotten Egg* to miss it. But for my part, I have not Malice enough, to wish him so much harm; not so much as to have a Hair of his head perish, much less, that one whole side of it should be dismantled: I am no Informer who writ such a Song, or such a *Libel*, if the *Dulness* betrays him not, he is safe for me. And may the same *dulness* preserve him ever from *publick Justice*: 'tis a sufficient thick *Mud-wall*, betwixt him and *Law*: 'tis his *Guardian Angel*, that protects him from Punishment, because in spite of him, he cannot deserve it. 'Tis that which preserves him innocent, when he means most mischief; and makes him a *Saint*, when he intends to be a *Devil*. He can never offend enough, to need the Mercy of the *Government*; for 'tis *beholding* to him, that he writes against it: and he never offers at a

Satyr, but he converts his *Readers* to the contrary *Opinion*.

Some of the succeeding Pargraphs, are intended for very *Ciceronian*: There the *Lawyer* flourishes in the *Pulpit*, and the *Poet* stands in *Socks* amongst the Crowd to hear him. Now for *Narration*, *Refutation*, *Calumniation*, *Aggravation*, and the whole *Artillery* of *Tropes* and *Figures*, to defend the Proceedings at *Guild-Hall*: the most minute circumstances of the Elections, are describ'd so lively, that a man, who had not heard he was there in a *Livery-Gown*, might suspect, there was a *quorum pars magna fui* in the Case: and multitudes of Electors, just as well qualified as himself, might give their Party the greater Number: but throw back their *guilt Shillings*, which were told for *Guinnies*, and their true Summ was considerably less. Well, there was no Rebellion at this time, therefore says my Adversary, there was no *Parallel*. 'Tis true, there was no *Rebellion*; but whoever told him, that I intended this *Parallel* so far? if the likeness had been throughout, I may guess by their good will to me, that I had never liv'd to write it. But to show his mistake, which I believe wilful, the Play was wholly written a month or two before the last Election of the *Sheriffs*. Yet, it seems there was some kind of *Prophecie* in the Case: and till the Faction gets clear of a *Riot*, a part of the Comparison will hold even there; yet, if he pleases to remember, there has been a King of *England* forc'd by the Inhabitants from his *Imperial Town*. 'Tis true, the Son has had better fortune than the Father; but the reason is, that he has now a stronger Party in the *City*, than his Enemies: the *Government* of it is secur'd in *Loyal* and *Prudent Hands*, and the Party is too weak to push their designs farther. *They rescued not their beloved Sheriffs, at a time* (he tells you) *when they had most important*
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use of them. What the importancy of the occasion was, I will not search; 'tis well if their own Consciences will acquit them. But let them be never so much belov'd, their Adherents knew it was a Lawful Authority that sent them to the *Tower*; and an Authority, which to their sorrow, they were not able to *resist*: so that if four men guarded them without disturbance, and to the contempt of their strength, at broad noon day, and at full Exchange time, it was no more their honesty, to stand looking on with their hands in their Pockets, than it is of a small Band of *Robbers*, to let a *Caravan* go by, which is too strong for them to assault.

After this, I am call'd after the old rate, *loose and infamous Scribler*, and 'tis well I scape so cheap: bear your good fortune moderately, Mr. *Poet*: for as loose and as infamous as I am, if I had written for your Party, your Pension wou'd have been cut off, as useless. But they must take up with *Settle*, and such as they can get: *Bartholomew-Fair Writers*, and *Bartholomew-Close Printers*; there's a famine of Wit amongst them, they are forc'd to give unconscionable rates, and after all to have only Carrion for their money.

Then I am an ignorant fellow for not knowing there were no *Juries in Paris*: I do not remember I have written any such thing: but whoever did, I am confident it was not his *ignorance*. Perhaps he had a mind to bring the case a little nearer home: if they had not *Juries in Paris*, we had them from the *Normans*, who were *French-men*: and as you manag'd them, we had as good have had none in *London*: Let it satisfie you we have them now; and some of your loose and infamous Sriblers may come to understand it a little better.

The next is the Justification of a Noble Peer deceas'd: the Case is known, and I have no quarrel to his memory:
let

let it sleep; he is now before another Judge. Immediately after I am said to have intended *an abuse to the House of Commons*; which is call'd by our Authors, *the most August Assembly of Europe*. They are to prove I have abus'd that House; but 'tis manifest they have lessen'd the House of Lords, by owning the Commons to be the *more August Assembly*. 'Tis an House chosen (they say) by every Protestant who has a considerable Inheritance in England; which word *considerable* signifies forty shillings *per annum* of free Land. For the interest of the loyal Party, so much undervallued by our Authors, they have long agoe confess'd in print, that the Nobility and Gentry have disown'd them: and the Yeomanry have at last consider'd, *quæ hæc consecvimus arva?* they have had enough of unlawful and arbitrary power; and know to their cost, what *an August Assembly* they had once without a King and House of Peers.

But now they have me in a burning scent, and run after me full cry: *Was ever such licence conniv'd at yet, in an impious Libeller and Scribler, that the Succession, so solemn a matter, that is not fit to be debated of but in Parliament, shou'd be profan'd so far as to be playd with on the Stage?*

Hold a little, Gentlemen, hold a little (as one of your fellow Citizens says in the Duke of Guise:) Is it so *unlawful* for me to argue for the Succession in the right Line upon the Stage; and is it so very *lawful* for Mr. Hunt, and the Scriblers of your Party, to oppose it in their Libels off the Stage? Is it so sacred, that a Parliament only is suffer'd to debate it, and dare you run it down both in your Discourses and Pamphlets out of Parliament? In conscience what can you urge against me, which I cannot return an hundred times heavier on you? And by the way you tell me, that to affirm the contrary to this, is a *Præmunire*

munire against the Statute of the 13. of *Eliz.* If such a *Premunire* be, pray answer me who has most incurr'd it? In the mean time do me the favour to look into the *Statute-Book*, and see if you can find the *Statute*: you know your selves, or you have been told it, that this *Statute* is virtually *repeal'd*, by that of the first of King *James*, acknowledging his *immediate lawfull and undoubted right to this Imperial Crown, as the next lineal Heir*: those last words are an *implicit anti-declaration* to the Statute in Queen *Elizabeth*, which for that reason is now omitted in our Books. The lawful Authority of an House of Commons I acknowledge; but without fear and trembling, as my *Reflectors* wou'd have it: For why shou'd I fear my *Representatives*? they are summon'd to consult about the publick good, and not to frighten those who chose them. 'Tis for you to tremble who libel the *supream Authority of the Nation*. But we knavish Coxcombs and Villains are to know, say my Authors, that *a Vote is the opinion of that House*. Lord help our understandings that know not this without their telling! What *English-man* do you think does not honour his Representatives, and with a Parliament void of heats and animosities, to secure the quiet of the Nation? You cite his Majesties last *Declaration* against those who dare trifle with Parliaments: (a Declaration by the way, which you endeavour'd not to have read publickly in Churches, with a threatening to those that did it.) *But we still declare* (says his Majesty) *that no irregularities of Parliament shall make us out of love with them*: Are not you unfortunate Quoters why now, shou'd you rub up the remembrance of those *irregularities* mention'd in that *Declaration*, which caus'd, as the King informs us, its dissolution?

The next Paragraph is already answer'd; 'tis only a clumsy Commendation of the D. of M. copied after Mr. *Hunt*, and a proof that he is unlike the Duke of *Guise*.

After

After having done my drudgery for me, and having most officiously prov'd that the *English* Duke, is no Parallel for the *French*; which I am sure he is not, they are next to do their own business, which is, that I meant a Parallel betwixt *Henry the Third*, and our most gracious *Sovereign*. But, as fallacies are always couch'd in general Propositions, they plead the whole course of the *Drama*, which, they say, *seems* to insinuate my intentions. One may see to what a miserable shift they are driven: when, for want of any one instance, to which I challenge them, they have only to alledge, that the Play *SEEMS* to insinuate it. I answer, it does not seem, which is a *bare Negative* to a *bare Affirmative*; and then we are just where we were before. Fat *Falstaffe* was never set harder by the Prince for a *Reason*, when he answer'd, that that *if* Reasons grew as thick as Black-berries, he would not give one. Well, after long pumping, lest the lie should appear quite barefac'd, they have found, I said, that at *King Henry's Birth*, there shone a *Regal Star*: so there did at *King Charles the seconds*: therefore I have made a *Parallel* betwixt *Henry the third*, and *Charles the second*. A very concluding *Sillogism*, if I should answer it no farther.

Now let us look upon the Play, the words are in the *fourth Act*. The Conjuror there is asking his Devil, *what Fortune attended his Master, the Guise, and what the King?* The familiar answers concerning the King. He cannot be *Depos'd*, he may be *kill'd*; a violent Fate attends him: but at his Birth, there shone a *Regal Star*, (*Conj.*) My Master had a stronger, (*Devil*) no not a stronger, but more Popular. Let the whole Scene (which is one of the best in the Tragedy, though murder'd in the *Acting*) be read together; and it will be as clear as day-light, that

that the *Devil* gave an *Astrological* account of the *French Kings Horoscope*: that the *Regal Star*, then *culminating*, was the *Sun* in the tenth *House* or *Mid-heaven*; which *Cæteris paribus* is a *Regal Nativity* in that Art. The rest of the Scene confirms what I have said: for the *Devil* has taken the *Position* of the *Heaven's*, or *Scheam* of the *World*, at the point of the *Suns* entrance into *Aries*: I dispute not here the *Truth* or *Lawfulness* of that Art; but 'tis usual with *Poets*, especially with the *Italians*, to mix *Astrology* in their Poems: *Chawcer*, amongst us, is frequent in it; but this Revolution particularly I have taken out of *Luigi Pulci*, and there is one almost the same in *Boiardo's Orlando Inamorato*. Now if these *Poets* knew, that a *Star* were to appear at our *Kings Birth*, they were better *Prophets* than *Nostradamus*, who has told us nothing of it. Yet this they say is *Treason with a Witness*, and one of the *Crimes* for which they condemn'd me to be hang'd drawn and quarter'd: I find they do not believe me to be one of their Party at the bottom, by their charitable wishes to me; and am proud enough, to think I have done them some little mischief, because they are so desirous to be rid of me. But if *Jack Ketch* must needs have the handling of us *Poets*, let him begin first where he may take the *deepest Say*: let me be hang'd, but in my turn; for I am sure I am neither the *fattest* *Scribler* nor the *worst*; I'll be judg'd by their own Party. But for all our Comforts, the days of hanging are a little out of date: and I hope there will be no more *Treason with a Witness*, or *Witnesses*; for now there is no more to be got by *Swearing*, and the *Market* is *over-stock'd* besides.

But are you in earnest, when you say I have made *Henry the Third* fearful, weak, bloody, perfidious, hypocritical and fawning in the Play? I am sure an unbiass'd Reader will find a more favourable image of him

in the *Tragedy*; what ever he was out of it. You wou'd not have told a lye so shameless, but that you were resolv'd to second it with a worse; that I made a *Parallel* of that *Prince*. And now it comes to my turn, pray let me ask you, why you spend three Pages and a half, in heaping up all the villanies true or false, which you can rake together, to blast his memory? Why is all this pains taken, to expose the *Person* of King *Henry the Third*? Are you *Leaguers*, or *Covenanters*, or *Associators*? What has the poor dead man done to nettle you? Were his *Rebels* your *Friends*, or your *Relations*? Were your *Norman* Ancestors of any of those Families, which were Conspirators in the Play? I smell a Rat in this business: *Henry the Third* is not taken thus to task for nothing. Let me tell you, this is little better than an implicate confession of the *Parallel* which I intended. This Gentleman of *Valois* sticks in your stomachs: and though I do not defend his Proceedings in the States, any otherwise, than by the inevitable necessity which caus'd them, yet acknowledging *his Crime*, does not extenuate *their Guilt*, that forc'd him to it. 'Twas bad on both sides, but the *Revenge* was not so wicked as the *Treason*: for 'twas a *voluntary* act of theirs, and a *compell'd* one of his. The short on't is, he took a violent course to cut up the *Covenant* by the *Roots*; and there's your quarrel to him.

Now for a long winded Panegyrique of the King of *Navarre*: and here I am sure they are in earnest, when they take such over pains, to prove there is no likeness, where they say I intended it. The *Heroe* at whom their malice is level'd, does but laugh at it I believe: And amongst the other vertues of that Predecessor, wants neither his *Justice* nor his *Clemency*, to forgive all the Heads of the *League*, as fast as they submit: As for obliging

obliging them, (which our Authors wou'd fain hook in for an Ingredient) let them be satisfied, that no more Enemies are to be bought off with Places and Preferments: the Tryal which has been made in two Kings Reigns, will warn the Family from so *fruitless* and *dangerous* an *Expedient*. The rest is already answer'd, in what I have said to Mr. *Hunt*; but I thank them by the way, for their instance of the fellow, whom the King of *Navarre* had pardon'd, and done good to, yet he *wou'd not love him*: for that Story reaches home somewhere.

I must make haste, to get out of hearing from this *Billingsgate Oratory*; and indeed, to make an end with these Authors, except I could call Rogue and Rascal as fast as they. Let us examine the little reason they produce, concerning the *Exclusion*.

Did the Pope, the Clergy, the Nobility and Commonalty of France think it reasonable to exclude a Prince for professing a different Religion, and will the Papists be angry if the Protestants be of the same Opinion? No sure, they cannot have the impudence.

First, here's the *different Religion* taken for granted, which was never prov'd on one side: though in the King of *Navarre*, it was *openly profess'd*. Then the *Pope*, and the *three Estates of France* had no power to alter the *Succession*, neither did the King in being, consent to it: or afterwards, did the greater part of the *Nobility, Clergy* and *Gentry* adhere to the *Exclusion*, but maintain'd the *lawful King* successfully against it; as we are bound to do in *England*, by the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*; made for the benefit of our Kings, and their Successors: The Objections concerning which Oath, are fully answer'd by Doctor *Hicks*, in his Preface to *Jovian*, and thither I refer the Reader.

They tell us, that what it concerns *Protestants* to do in that case, enough has been heard by us in *Parliament Debates*.

I answer, that *Debates* coming not by an *Act* to any *Issue*, conclude that there is nothing to be done against a *Law establish'd*, and *fundamental* of the *Monarchy*. They dare not infer a *Right* of taking up *Arms*, by vertue of a *Debate* or *Vote*, and yet they tacitly *insinuate* this : I ask them, what it does concern *Protestants* to do in this case, and whether they mean any thing by that expression ? They have hamper'd themselves before they were aware ; for they proceed in the very next lines to tell us, they believe *the Crown of England being Hereditary, the next in Blood, have an undoubted right to succeed, unless God make them, or they make themselves incapable of Reigning* : So that according to them, if either of those two *Impediments* shall happen, then it concerns the *Protestants of England* to do that something, which if they had spoken out, had been direct *Treason*. Here's fine *Legerdemain* amongst them ; they have acknowledg'd a *Vote* to be no more than the *Opinion* of an *House*, and yet from a *Debate*, which was abortive before it quicken'd into a *Vote*, they argue after the old Song, *that there's something more to be done, which you cannot chuse but guess*. In the next place, there's no such thing as *Incapacity* to be suppos'd, in the immediate *Successor* of the *Crown* ; That is, the *rightful Heir* cannot be made incapable on any account whatsoever to succeed. It may please God, that he may be *inhabilis*, or *inidoneus ad gerendam Rempublicam*, *unfit or unable to govern the Kingdom* ; but this is no *impediment* to his *right* of reigning ; he cannot either be *excluded* or *depos'd* for such imperfection : For the *Laws* which have provided for *private men* in this case, have also made provision for the *Sovereign* and for the *Publick* : and
the

the Council of State or the next of Blood, is to administer the Kingdom for him. *Charles the sixth of France* (for I think we have no *English* Examples which will reach it) forfeited not his Kingdom by his *Lunacy*, though a victorious King of *England* was then knocking at his Gates; but all things under his Name, and by his Authority, were manag'd. The case is the same, betwixt a King *non compos mentis*, and one who is *nondum compos mentis*, a distracted or an Infant King. Then the People cannot incapacitate the King, because he derives not his Right from them, but from God only: neither can any *Action*, much less *Opinion* of a Sovereign, render him *uncapable* for the same reason; excepting only a *voluntary Resignation* to his *immediate Heir*, as in the case of *Charles the fifth*: for that of our *Richard the second* was *invalid*, because *forc'd*; and not made to the *next Successor*.

Neither does it follow, as our Authors urge, that an *unalterable Succession* supposes *England* to be the Kings *Estate*, and the People his *Goods and Chattels* on it: For the preservation of his *Right*, destroys not our *Propriety*, but maintains us in it. He has ty'd himself by *Law*, not to invade our Possessions, and we have oblig'd our selves as *Subjects* to him and all his *lawful Successors*: By which *irrevocable Act* of ours, both for our selves and our *Posterity*, we can no more exclude the *Successor*, than we can depose the *present King*. The *Estate of England* is indeed the Kings, and I may safely grant their supposition, as to the *Government of England*: but it follows not, that the *People* are his *Goods and Chattels* on it; for then he might sell, alienate, or destroy them as he pleas'd, from all which he has ty'd himself by the *Liberties and Priviledges* which he has granted us by *Laws*.

There'ss

There's little else material in this Pamphlet: for to say, *I wou'd insinuate into the King, a hatred to his capital City,* is to say, he shou'd hate his best friends, the last and the present Lord Mayor, our two Honourable Sheriffs, the Court of Aldermen, the worthy and Loyal Mr. Common Serjeant, with the rest of the Officers, who are generally well affected, and who have kept out their factious Members from its Government. To say I wou'd insinuate a scorn of Authority in the City, is in effect, to grant the *Parallel* in the *Play*: For the authority of *Tumults* and *Seditions* is only scorn'd in it: an Authority which they deriv'd not from the *Crown*, but exercis'd against it. And for them to confess I expos'd this, is to confess that *London* was like *Paris*.

They conclude with a Prayer to *Almighty God*: (in which I therefore believe the Poet did not club:) to libel the King through all the Pamphlet, and to pray for him in the conclusion, is an action of more prudence in them than of piety: perhaps they might hope to be forgiven, as one of their Predecessors was by King *James*; who after he had rail'd at him abundantly, ended his *Lampoon* with these two Verses.

*Now God preserve our King, Queen, Prince and Peers,
And grant the Author long may wear his Ears.*

To

To take a short review of the whole ; 'Tis manifest, that there is no such *Parallel* in the *Play*, as the *Faction* have pretended : that the *Story* wou'd not bear one where they have plac'd it ; and that I cou'd not reasonably intend one, so contrary to the nature of the *Play*, and so repugnant to the *Principles* of the *Loyal Party*. On the other side, 'tis clear, that the *Principles* and *Practices* of the *Publick Enemies*, have both formerly resembled those of the *League*, and continue to hold the same *Resemblance*. It appears by the outcry of the *Party* before the *Play* was acted, that they dreaded and foresaw the bringing of the *Faction* upon the *Stage* : and by the hasty printing of Mr. *Hunts Libel*, and the *Reflections*, before the *Tragedy* was publish'd, that they were infinitely concern'd to prevent any farther operation of it. It appears from the general consent of the *Audiences*, that *Their Party* were known to be represented ; and *Themselves* own'd openly by their hissing, that they were incens'd at it, as an *Object* which they cou'd not bear. 'Tis evident by their endeavours to shift off this *Parallel* from *Their Side*, that their *Principles* are too shameful to be maintain'd : 'Tis notorious, that *They*, and *They only* have made the *Parallel* betwixt the *Duke of Guise* and the *Duke of M.* And that in *Revenge*
for

for the manifest likeness they find in the Parties themselves, they have carried up the Parallel to the Heads of the Parties, where there is no Resemblance at all. Under which colour, while they pretend to advert upon *One Libell*, they set up *Another* : For what resemblance cou'd they suggest betwixt two persons so unlike in their descent, the qualities of their minds, and the disparity of their war-like Actions, if they grant not, that there is a *Faction* here, which is like that other that was in *France* ? So that if they do not first acknowledge one *Common Cause*, there is no foundation for a *Parallel*. The *Dilemma* therefore lies strong upon them ; and let them avoid it, if they can : that either they must avow the wickedness of their designs, or disown the likeness of those two persons. I do further charge those audacious Authors, that they themselves have made the *Parallel* which they call *Mine*, and that under the covert of this *Parallel* they have odiously compar'd our present King with King *Henry the Third*. And farther, that they have forc'd this *Parallel* expressly to wound his Majesty in the Comparison. For since there is a *Parallel* (as they would have it) it must be either *Theirs* or *Mine*. I have prov'd that it cannot possibly be *Mine* ; and in so doing, that it must be *Theirs* by consequence. Under this shadow all the Vices of the French King are charg'd

charg'd by those Libellers (by a side-wind) upon Ours : And 'tis indeed the bottom of their design to make the King, cheap ; his Royal Brother, odious ; and to alter the course of the Succession.

Now after the Malice of this sputtering Triumvirate (Mr. Hunt, and the Two Reflectors) against the Person and Dignity of the King, and against all that endeavour to serve him (which makes their hatred to his Cause apparent,) the very charging of our Play to be a Libel, and such a Parallel as these Ignoramus's wou'd render it, is almost as great an affront to his Majesty, as the Libellous Picture it self, by which they have expos'd him to his Subjects : for it is no longer our Parallel, but the Kings, by whose Order it was Acted, without any shuffling or importunity from the Poets ; The Tragedy (cry'd the Faction) is a Libel against such and such Illustrious Persons. Upon this the Play was stopt, examin'd, acquitted, and order'd to be brought upon the Stage : Not one stroke in't, of a Resemblance to answer the Scope and intent of the Complaint. There were some Features indeed, that the Illustrious Mr. Hunt, and his brace of Beagles (the Reflectors) might see resembling theirs. And no other Parallel either found or meant, but betwixt the French Leaguers and Ours : and so far the A-

shortly remain with them, but men of *desperate* fortunes or *Enthusiasts* : those who dare not ask pardon, because they have *transgress'd beyond it*, and those who gain by *Confusion*, as Thieves do by *Fires* : to whom *forgiveness* were as vain , as a *Reprieve* to condemn'd *Beggars* ; who must hang without it, or *sterve* with it.

FINIS.



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